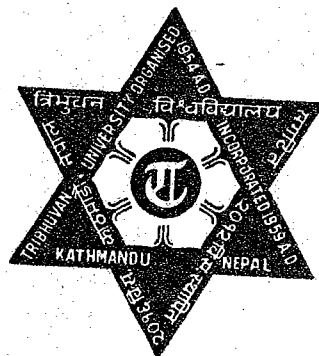


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CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEPALESE STUDIES



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*Social Research in Nepal: A Critique and A Proposal **

Chaitanya Mishra
CNAS/TU

The basic objective of this paper is two-fold. The first is to sketch certain dominant substantive and epistemological biases embedded in the institution and practice of social research in Nepal. The second is to forward a few tentative suggestions towards making social research speak more directly on the limitations, hopes and fears of our people, and of ourselves.

The paper consists of five sections. This section focuses on the preliminaries. The second section endeavours to sketch some of the dominant substantive biases of social research. The third section sketches the dominant epistemological biases of social research. The fourth section tries to provide a few suggestions on research priority alternatives. Finally, the concluding section briefly speculates on the relationship between social research and university teaching in Nepal.

Before I begin, I think I will do well to provide a few clarifications. The first clarification — and admission — concerns the use of the phrase "social research." I intend the phrase to denote most of the research endeavours which recognize and work upon the essential sociality of all human practices, whether they be at the familial or national level, or whether they be primarily political, economic or ideological. Lest this definition appear unnecessarily abstruse, I use the term "social research" broadly to encompass research works (on Nepal) conventionally attached to the disciplines of history, political science, economics, sociology and anthropology. I must admit that I am more of a layman — a curious one at that — than an expert in most, if not all, of these research areas. In a sense, therefore, it is as a layman that I want to assess the biases in social research in Nepal. However, I also have had the benefit of learning from authorities in the respective fields (cf. Sharma 1974, Malla et al. 1978, Nessrec 1981, Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, 1983). Lastly, assuming the commonality of the various research areas with respect to "the social", I expect to be fairly general and abstract in my exposition such that I may be able to transcend certain "disciplinary specificities."

The second clarification relates to the fact that I will be talking about "social research in Nepal" rather than about "social research at Tribhuvan University." I do this for two interrelated reasons. First, a substantial bulk of social research being undertaken in Nepal is being carried out either at Tribhuvan University or by Tribhuvan University personnel and/or graduates. This will probably continue to be the case for a long time. Second, the University as well as the other research

*This paper was read at a seminar on Teachers' Role organized by Nepal University Teachers' Association, 12-13 December, 1983, Kathmandu.

establishments work under more or less similar constraints, and are engaged in producing more or less similar research works. It is perhaps for these reasons that the contributors to the Malla et al. volume mentioned earlier make an effort to inventory research efforts beyond the University setting.

Finally, the slimness of this paper probably merits clarification. I justify it on two counts. First, I was asked that this paper be brief, short enough to hold attention at a reading session. Second, as I noted at the beginning, this paper is intended only as a sketch rather than detailed and authoritative treatment of the topic.

II

If I may be allowed to plunge head on, the first criticism that can be levelled against the institution and the practice of social research in Nepal is that it has, by and large, proved itself to be incapable of penetrating the centre. It is not my intention here to go explicitly into the 'why' of this problem, although it needs to be, and can be addressed also. We could possibly utilize another reading session for this purpose. However, I merely want to elaborate my point here. The institution and practice of social research has, in general, failed to deal squarely on most of the fundamental issues perplexing the everyday lives of the masses of Nepalese people. Research programmes have sidestepped their mundane woes, often opting out for fancier topics. As I make a survey of social research efforts, only a few researchers appear to have made sustained efforts at examining the problems of landlessness (or landedness for that matter), labour, poverty, tenancy, exploitation and the gross socio-economic inequalities that our society is heir to (cf. Regmi 1963-68, 1971, however). Only a few of our researchers have engaged themselves in systematically elaborating the relationship between the society on the one hand, and nature on the other, and on the fantastically active rate at which we are losing and/or destroying our natural resources. Few of us are engaged in specifying the parameters of population growth. Even fewer, if at all, are engaged in investigating corruption and the gross political-administrative-professional inefficiency we know is about us. It hardly merits emphasizing that these are our concrete experiences. These are some of our most central concerns. Yet, we do not seem to be able to confront them. Monumental though these problems are, we let them pass by. There can be little doubt, that in the process, we are alienating ourselves from making contributions consonant with long-range national interests.

Second — and this is a corollary to the point made above — the institution of social research has generally come to enshrine slogans, cliches, sycophancy, and the relatively insignificant into its domain. What clearly comes out from a perusal of research efforts in economics is that we are predominantly enchanted with "feasibility and impact studies" and with the ubiquitous "socio-economic survey" (es. Shrestha and Dahal 1978) despite their limited overall significance. Going through

the economic research list compiled by Shrestha and Dahal, one cannot but arrive at the conclusion that most of our economists are engaged in what may be called "the economics of and for the privileged" fundamentally oriented towards problems related to the generation of exchange values. This, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority among us are engaged in the creation of use values, of subsistence, household economics, commodity economics, not social, human relationship, defines the framework of contemporary economic research.

The situation appears hardly brighter in other disciplinary areas. Research in political science has just about consistently managed to evade problems of generation and distribution of power (cf. Baral 1977, however) and of relationships of dominance and submission. That this is surprising is evident when we consider the fact that by almost all accounts ours is one of the most intensely hierarchized societal forms in existence in the contemporary world. Notwithstanding, one learns that these vital experiences of our daily lives fail to register on the "priority list" of political science research (cf. Baral et al. 1978).

Historical research too, despite its considerable upsurge and promise of the recent years (cf. Regmi 1963, 1971; Bajracharya 1974; Stiller 1973, 1980; and the unfailingly lively issues of Purnima) has taken occasional and halting steps at the provision of a historically coherent and meaningful account of aspects of our social past. Personal-political histories — which probably provide the historian with the whiff of grandeur and power — have continued to dominate the interest of most of our historians. Much of History today remains a fetishized account of genealogy, chronology, inscriptions, myths, events, and above all, of personalities. It is as if, in the eyes of most of our historians, the people were non-persons and their social forms non-entities.

Research in sociology/anthropology has had its share of being preoccupied with the less significant and the peripheral. Mired in discrete and spurious ethnographic accounts and, once again, on "socio-economic survey" and "impact studies", sociology/anthropology has failed to elaborate on the fundamental bases of our social structure and of its cultural manifestations. It might be symptomatic of sociology's unconcern for the mundane that one of the first graduate seminars in sociology at Tribhuvan University focussed on "Spirit Possession in Nepal" (Macdonald 1974: 29). Given its traditional preoccupation with the ideological-spiritual realms as manifested in the ethnic contexts, it comes as no surprise that the very legitimacy of the practice of sociology/anthropology has fallen under the shadow of a soul-searching question mark. How is research in sociology/anthropology to justify itself when the basic problems facing us at large relate to food and clothing (cf. Bista 1974, also cf. Rai 1974)? Clearly, this is not a problem haunting sociology/anthropology alone. Indeed, how is the institution of social research to rationalize its existence given that it continues to address itself to problems peripheral to our social-national existence?

Third, the institution of social research thrives, and operates on, the basis of a more or less explicit collusion with national and international political-administrative-ideological interests. I am not, of course, referring here to an isolated instance of a department or an agency carrying out a particular research project on behalf of one of these interests. What I am referring to relates to the mutual exchanges of legitimacy between these interests on the one hand, and the institution of social research on the other. As we witness the booming business of sponsored research, we cannot but remain queasy at their distorted research priority agenda. Unless we have a firm belief on the cohesive identify of interests between these research organs on the one hand, and the people who remain the passive subjects of political, economic and sociological/anthropological research studies on the other, this queasiness will persist. As it is, we are slowly but inexorably succumbing to these organizations. We let them define and elaborate our basic paradigm: they do the thinking and we work for them. This surrender — or usurpation — is nowhere more blatantly exhibited than in the official declaration of objectives of the Centre for Economic Development and Administration (cf. CEDA 1978), our premier research institution. It is not my intention here to quote the text of the objectives; suffice it to note that the key reference person of CEDA's research efforts is "the policy maker". CEDA's research efforts, the document assures us in explicit sequence, are meant to help the policy maker in the formulation, development, implementation and evaluation of various plans, projects and policies, and in the reformation of the administration. In addition, we are told, CEDA's research efforts are also directed at recommending alternative ideas, experiences and decisions to the policy maker. CEDA, of course, is by no means unique in its submission to the omnipresent policy maker. One vainly looks for the otherwise familiar old-fashioned adage "service to the people" as one goes through the scores of brochures put out by the various, recently proliferating research establishments. This surrender assumes a greater significance when we examine it against the often voiced criticism of the institution of social research that outstretched upwards as its palms are for research funds and research issues, it incessantly looks down on the people below rarely, if ever, taking time out to judge the hands that dole it out (cf. Nicolaus 1972, Shaw 1972).

To venture on epistemological biases, the first criticism that can be levelled against the institution of social research is that it has sold itself to the atheoretical, epiricistic mode of research. We appear to have arrived at an unanimous consensus on the quintessential image of the social researcher: He is a person who goes to "the field" in "search of facts." We have come to regard facts as given, lying in the villages out there waiting eagerly to be searched out. We remain unconcerned that it is a particular theoretical or metatheoretical standpoint that gives meaning, indeed birth, to a search for facts. Facts are meaningless unless they draw on, and are illuminated by, a particular theoretical/metatheoretical framework. That is, facts are only as good as the theoretical framework that underlies them if only because research categories cannot be independent of theoretical categories. As it is, we bestow

unserving loyalty on facts: We believe that facts, once searched out, will speak for themselves. It is ironic that we continue to work under this presumption at a time when the very legitimacy of facts in testing theories is being seriously questioned (cf. Habermas 1974).

Second, the institution of social research can be criticized for having failed to assume — let alone practice — that the society we live and carry out our research in, is an interrelated whole, a totality. I hardly need to belabour the point; it is much too obvious to those of us engaged in social research. Yet the institution, and the practice, of social research almost invariably negates this common assumption. Some of us are interested in "economic research", some in "political research", some in "historical research" and still some others in "sociological and anthropological research." We are somehow aware that these boundaries are artificial but because we have been trained, and continue to work under a system that nourishes such a division, we are unable to explore on the essential coherence of our social life. Unable as we are to deal with the whole, we make a virtue out of dealing with the parts. Even worse, many of us mistake the part for the whole. In the process what we lose is a certain meaningfulness, a certain coherence. What we gain is a misrepresentation, a distortion.

Third, it is not at all certain whether the institutionalization of village or micro studies will bear fruit on the long run. The rush for such studies, of course, is evident in the current practice of social research. I do not doubt that when efficiently carried out, such studies will be able to provide useful information on the locale to the various interested sponsors. However, what is of concern here is whether a collection of discrete micro studies can legitimately be taken to have laid the groundwork for a study of similar issues at other levels, e.g., the national level. Clearly there is a serious risk of running into ecological fallacy here. This risk could be minimized to a certain extent, were we to carry out micro studies within a broader macro theoretical-substantive frame of reference which ultimately gives meaning to micro studies. It is apparent, however, that most of us consistently skirt the essential problem of establishing correspondence between a macro-theoretical-substantive framework and the particular micro research study we are engaging in.

Fourth, the institution of social research is generally wedded to research designs which are non-comparative and ahistorical. This is largely attributable to the ad hoc and one-shot nature of most of our research efforts. In any case, it is apparent that research efforts which are neither historically-informed nor cross-culturally comparative, are prone to produce outcomes which are weak with respect to validity as well as generality and significance. A study which can adduce neither historical nor cross-cultural evidence to buttress its arguments is necessarily weak. A good research study, by definition, is one which is historically-and cross-culturally-informed. Most of our studies, however, are sadly lacking on these counts.

Fifth, the current emphasis on 'methodology' — methodological technology to be precise — in social research may not have been entirely to the good. It has certainly aided in the standardization of research efforts, and in the provision of a rather facile means for evaluating them. However, it also has had the consequence of blunting creativity and of creating the impression that methodology is independent of theoretical-substantive interests. This lure of technicism has probably also had the effect of diverting attention from substantive issues. I do not think this is a serious problem with us as yet, but it has been a persistent criticism of social research in the West. Often, certain issues are investigated more with a view to exploiting the "room" these issues allow for a display of elegant methodological technology, and less for an illumination of the issues themselves. A highly-reputed American sociologist once said that as long as you have a problem and you are sufficiently interested in it, you are bound to develop an appropriate methodology to deal with it. A certain degree of methodological flexibility, may not be without its benefits.

Finally, the existing institution of social research, oriented as it is to the scientific notions of "objectivity" and "value neutrality", has largely emasculated itself by abandoning the role of critical research. Most of us have failed to see, and utilize, research as a practice of criticism. I need not dwell on this any further as it forms the dominant theme of Professor K.P. Malla's (1979: especially pp. 179-206) recently published collection of brilliantly cynical essays. Critical research, however, should not stop at the mere criticism of the phenomenon, of the appearance. Critical research, instead, should try to demystify the phenomenon by continually interrogating on the whereabouts of its roots (cf. Smart 1976: 174-84, Lukacs 1971: 149-59). However, given our attachment to the popular and immensely powerful ideology of scientific research, it is not likely that many of us will work to exploit the potential of critical research.

IV

Clearly, the institution is facing some serious problems. Can we do something about it? I personally would like to forward an explicitly equivocal answer: "No" and "Yes" because, as most of us are aware, many of the problems of social research are intimately related to, and indeed emanate from, currently-existing political-economic and ideological-administrative structures at the national and international levels. "Yes" because we are aware of many of these problems and may eventually have to work towards their solution. In making the following brief suggestions — suggestions which follow from my earlier criticisms — I have merely tried to expand on the optimistic side in the belief that we, particularly the University social research institution, can do something about these problems.

First, I believe that the institution of social research should make a conscious and concerted attempt at delineating the crucial problems facing the Nepalese population at large. It is only then, that we

can be institutionally capable of exploring on the mainstream of Nepalese life, and of dealing with our central concerns. I think we will do well not to commit ourselves to the laissez faire practice of social research, particularly because the social organization of the Nepalese society at large—and of social research as well—is not framed around the laissez faire model. Embedded in this plea is the note that research efforts be directly framed around real, live problems haunting the lives of most of us. As indicated in the earlier section, problems related to the social organization of production and distribution (agrarian production and distribution in particular), poverty and inequality, and power and the State may be regarded as some of the crucial problem areas facing the institution of social research. Far-fetched as it may seem in the present context, social research will be only successful to the extent that it can directly address itself to problems related to our genuine basic needs.

Second, the institution of social research should make an effort to make the practice of research truly interdisciplinary. The transplanted, fossilized disciplinary cocoons we inhabit cannot meaningfully grasp the realities we have to address ourselves to. Indeed, I strongly suspect that these cocoons have certain built-in mechanisms which work very effectively at hiding, or at deemphasizing, the very problems which have the greatest need for illumination.

Third, the institution of social research should make efforts to encourage theoretically-conscious research. Hungry as we are for facts, for information, for data, these will probably be of very little use in the long run—unless of course we continue to move along the current course. To the extent that our research efforts are framed around real problems, the conventional counterposition of "theoretical" and "applied" research would bear little sense. That is, to the extent that theory relates to practice, to the practice of our life, the image of the "theoretician" as one dealing with the irrelevant and the nonexistent deserves little merit. On the other hand, it is only a theoretically-conscious research that can adequately grasp the various manifestations and meanings of our practice. In other words, only a theoretically-conscious approach, because of its totalizing and generalizing focus, can adequately comprehend a problem.

Lastly, the institution of social research must make serious efforts at enlivening the practice of criticism as an integral part of its research undertaking. There must be a realization on our part, that genuine social research necessarily entails a re-examination of the existing social and intellectual order. Critical research achieves this by carrying out a critique of the present, by venturing beyond the present. I think this is the only course open to us if we desire a better future.

V

It is commonsense that research and teaching are interrelated activities. This is fundamentally based upon the recognition that research can reproduce positively only by teaching. Teaching itself, of course,

must be based on research. It is in this context that we, as teachers, should try to visualise the interaction between teaching and research.

It is not my intention to examine this interaction in a great detail. However, even a cursory glance at our teaching practice is enough to indicate that we may not be producing "good" research capability. Admittedly, this is a complex problem and needs to be examined at a greater depth. I feel, however, that the basic reason for this state of affairs is the obvious lack of correspondence between what our students learn in class, and what they experience in life. This disjunction between classroom learning and vital life experiences contributes to a distinct sense of alienation. This in turn serves to nourish "the student problem"—indiscipline, lack of motivation to learn, and lack of commitment.

The major—but by no means the only—constraint with respect to this creation of relevance lies, I think, within the design of the syllabi. I would like to end my presentation by forwarding five interconnected avenues to improve the design of social science syllabi at the University. First, to reiterate, the syllabi should be intimately connected with everyday reality. This is not a mere cliché. A close examination of the currently operating syllabi, I am certain, will bring out a number of grotesque, as well as rather subtle mis-emphases. Agricultural economics and population economics, for example, are regarded as "optional subjects" in the Master's course in economics. Local, district and regional politics, for example, are hardly discussed in the teaching of political science. The situation is not much different in other social science disciplines. Second, Master's level teaching in all social science disciplines should focus explicitly on the Nepali experience—albeit in the world theoretical context. Theories and theoretical models per se should be taught at the intermediate and the bachelor's levels, even if in a rather simplified manner. Third, and as far as it is practicable, repetitions in topics covered at various levels must be avoided. Fourth, courses should explicitly be built around issues which bear current relevance, e.g., ecology, water resources, people's participation and national integration, for a specific body of small, concerned student participants. Such an arrangement, apart from generating interest among students, would also create more specialized and employable manpower while at the same time avoiding the redundancy in graduate expertise. Finally, the courses of study at the Master's level should concurrently allow room for the student's exposure to practical work in the area the student is interested in.

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Illness Interpretation and Modes of Treatment in Kirtipur

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Introduction

This paper is based on the field work carried as a part of UNFPA Project in 1983 among the Newars of Kirtipur, Nepal. An attempt is made to explore the interpretation and beliefs about causes of illness as held by the people of study area. The nature of community reactions and management of illness are also the special areas of interest on which the whole subject matter of the paper rests.

Social and Cultural Aspect of Illness Interpretation

The traditional interpretation of illness in Kirtipur goes far beyond exploring the ambiguous causes and their appropriate remedies like many other traditional communities (see Tuckett, 1977:293, Foster 1978:43, Stone 1976:57, Hands 1982:57). The understanding of disease causality stems from a distinctive conceptual organization of Newar culture. Illness for the Newar of Kirtipur is a state in which many natural and supernatural forces partake. Thus, illness and affliction are attributed to deeper and often ambiguous causes. Informants believed that patient's social, moral and ritual situations can be responsible for prevalence of a particular illness. Instead of merely analyzing patient's illness in most cases therefore, a correlation is established among the various forces.

Illness in Kirtipur is not simply a biological and metaphysical phenomenon, it is socio-somatic in nature (Renee 1973:9). People always present logico-rational explanations of illness, and curing techniques are organized accordingly within the broader Newar cultural perspective and social organization.

The Kirtipur people hold the belief that agents responsible for various diseases are widespread in their area. It is, therefore, usual that individuals easily come into their influence. When an individual falls ill, his behaviour under the influence of illness is observed by his relatives. They then decided whom to consult amongst several medical practitioners available in the village. Some times experienced people recommend means to control the situation. Invariably, it is the job of traditional medical practitioners² who always possess better knowledge and skills to cure the illness. The people of Kirtipur believe that various types of illness are caused by several natural and

supernatural forces and the traditional medical practitioners are the only people who can trace out the disease causation levels and control the situation. For the local people, these illnesses are distinct from each other because the forces or agents responsible for all of them are thought to be playing different roles. As King (1962:91) correctly writes on the theory of illness.

Beliefs and attitudes toward disease in any group will be held with tenacity and assurance that they are quite adequate to explain and handle illness. People believe that the malefic action of another human being or intervention by a supernatural power cause disease, which can be cured only by resort to appropriate magical formula or application to the supernatural power.

Natural and Supernatural Causes of Illness

Illness interpretation in Kirtipur can be divided into two broad causation levels — natural and supernatural. The following is a description of supernatural causation of illness. The role of various traditional medical practitioners in handling such supernatural forces is also detailed. This will be followed by a description of natural forces of illness causation.

Supernatural Causes

The people of Kirtipur believe that numerous illnesses are caused by the 'attacks' (lageajwima) of supernatural forces. It is argued that an intervention of such forces while trapped inside human body can cause illnesses.

1. Chwāsa

Chwāsa³ is a square elevated ground located in each Newar ward, at the side of a cross-road. It is a public place assigned in each Newar community as a tole or area specific rather than caste specific.

The Chwāsa is a socially accepted place where people can throw household rubbish. When a person dies, the rice (for the man who sits in the mourning site) is cooked using three mud bricks (kaci apā) instead of the usual mud stove. On the last day of mourning (sudhi), these bricks and other ritual items are thrown at chwāsa. It is also an appropriate place for the clothes and other possessions of a deceased person to be thrown. After the birth of a new born, the blood soaked clothes, umbilical cord and placenta are thrown at the chwāsa by the local midwife (didi-aji).

The people of Kirtipur believe that chwāsa is the abode of two spirits, known by kinship terms — grandfather-grandmother (āju-aji). These two spirits are husband and wife according to a local interpretation. One particular informant claims he has seen the old couple one mid-night. According to him, they wore white clothes and were tall.

Another informant argued that āju-aji change their dress and shape to any form. Some informants consider this couple as deities (deo) and others as evil spirits (bhut). On the day of gatha mungal which occurs in the month of June-July, people of each ward gather at their respective chwāsa and worship āju-aji by burning ricestraw (chwāli).

The local belief is that āju-aji attack human beings only when their 'hunger' is not appeased. When one suspects their attack, the hunger must be satisfied, offering a small share (bhag) to them. While small children are most vulnerable, āju-aji can attack adults too. They may act individually or together depending upon their whim.

The sick suffers from severe stomach pain, headache, bleeding through mouth and diarrhoea. He consults a village exorcist (jhār-phuk-yaimā) or a vaidya who knows tantric spells (mantra). The practitioner observes, reads the pulse and then decides the causation level of the illness following a trial and error method. If the traditional medical practitioner feels that āju-aji are involved, he recommends that the patient put some cooked rice (jā) and five lamps on a green leaf of bauhinia vahilii (ghum). It is to be left at the chwāsa site either in the early morning or after the sunset. If the patient is a child whose feeding ceremony is not yet performed, flattened rice (baji) is offered instead of the cooked rice. The exorcist may recite spells if he thinks the act necessary.

The process of intervention of the chwāsa caused illnesses depends upon the traditional medical practitioners who possess knowledge on the nature of spirits. They are considered indispensable in maintaining a harmonious relationship between the spirits and human beings.

2. Gayo

Gayo is also a public place in Kirtipur. On the last day of mourning rite ceremony, the deceased's relatives are invited to a feast (bhoj). The left over food and garbage of the feast are thrown to the Gayo.

People believe that gayo is the abode of an evil spirit called 'gayo spirit' (gayo-bhut). It is said that, unlike chwāsa which resembles human beings, gayo appears like black ball. Among these spirits, some are more malevolent than others. People claim that if an individual is attacked by the gayo of a particular place called Macadeo, an immediate measure must be taken to ensure the patient's survival.

A person afflicted by the gayo suffers from a sudden and severe stomach pain. A local exorcist must be consulted immediately to relieve the problem. Offerings of flattened rice (baji), ginger (pālu) and salt (ci), must be made to the gayo.

3. Puihayegu

The people of Kirtipur consider water sources (e.g. ponds, wells and natural taps etc.), the abodes of several disease causing agents,

and call such diseases by a generic term Puihayegu. When one suffers from mild stomach ache and high fever, a local vaidya or exorcist is consulted to cure it. The treatment involves putting turmeric coloured rice on a green leaf of bauhinia vahilii (ghum), making serpent god (nag) from raw cotton and vermillion powder (abir), and consecrating them near the suspected water source.

4. Deo-Palagu

A person, who happens to come on the way of god may suffer from the latter's influence. When this happens, the person show symptoms of epilepsy. One can contract this illness anywhere. This disease in Kirtipur is also called topu-waigu. People have to seek the help of a tantric vaidya to cure this illness.

5. Dhopwa

In Newari 'Dhopwa' means outlet of a household or ward sewer. It is the abode of the spirit dhopwa, who is considered responsible for many diseases. It is said that dhopwa looks like a small rooster and crows at night to cause illness among people.

The symptoms of this illness are nausea and diarrhoea (jhārā-bāntā) with mild fever (jor). When a vaidya is consulted, he establishes a ritual friendship (miteri) between the patient and dhopwa. The belief is that such relationship compels the dhopwa to remove his ill influence. Grains of uncooked rice (kanika) are washed in the water and left at the side of the pond or tap.

6. Bhuji Khā Nyāigu

In classical Newari bhuji khā nyāigu means 'bites of young flies.' Rashes (khatira) appear on the particular parts of the patient's body. The patient must rub his body with a net bag (jāli-thaili) and press the latter under stone grinder (lo-macā) which is left at the stairs of four days.

7. Kaladeo

Kaladeo, the spirit, is believed to reside at a place where garbage from the area is deposited. An attack of Kaladeo brings stomach ache and high fever. A vaidya or exorcist is usually consulted to determine the underlying cause of illness (dosa). The remedy recommended for all Kaladeo caused illness is simple: Some flattened rice (baji) is kept on a green ghum leaf and dropped it at the abode of Kaladeo. The local curer may also officiate rituals if the illness requires so.

8. Chetra Pāla

Chetra pāla is considered the god that protects the area and its people. His shrine, located at Ward No. 7 of Chithu Panchayat of Kirtipur, is visited each morning by the women of Chithu ward to offer rice

grains. The god stone Chetra pāla is placed on the ground at the cross-road side of the Chithu Tole. If Chetra pāla becomes unhappy, he brings diarrhoea and fever. An exorcist is consulted to cure such illness. He performs a ritual and offers flattened rice (baji), a piece of ginger (pālu) and grains of salt (ci) to the Chetra pāla.

9. Gasima or Aisamacā

Children between the age of 3 to 6 years are vulnerable to gasima illness. When a mother becomes pregnant her already lactating child sometime does not like to eat and do unnecessary encumbrance. The child never gets sound sleep and exhibits weeping behaviour. This sort of illness is called gasima macā or aisamacā or sometime also a weeping illness (runce rog). When a child suffers from aisa (weeping) or gasima (very lean and thin) his face is washed in the early hours of the morning and is taken to circumbulate the pipal (ficus religiosa) tree. Items like cow's milk (sādudu), ghee (ghya), honey (kasti) and flattened rice (baji) are offered. Clothes of the child (maca lā), clay lamps (kuchila), thatch rope - (khasiwipa) are also taken. A small vessel (ghacā) and the cloth of the child are hung on the rope and tied around the trunk of the tree. The first visit is followed by rituals performed in the name of child, but rest five consecutive days' visits do not need any kind of ritual performance.

10. Khāyātamha Deo

The shrine of Khāyātamha deo is located at Bhat Bhateni, Kathmandu. This god is said to be responsible for various illnesses among small children. The term 'khāyātamha' in Newari means 'child taken by an eagle.' The child contacted by khayatamha deo loses his sense, falls on the ground and rolls the eye upside down. When these symptoms appear, a local vaidya is resorted to cure the illness. The vaidya raises consecrated rice (acheta - sanima) and promises to perform a ritual to the khāyātamha deo on a later date (see Stone, 1981:65).

It is believed that the khāyātamha deo must be appeased prior to the use of medicine. If an individual does not heed this either the medicine does not work or the illness gets worse. In the worship of khāyātamha deo people offer rice (jāki), flattened rice (baji), egg (khe), meat (lā), beer (tho), ginger (pālu) and soyabeans (musyā) etc. The single term to denote these ritual items is 'same baji' in local Newari language.

11. Kyakahagu

The kyakahagu illness is caused by the evil spells (kumantra) directed at an individual by human agents or by supernatural forces. It is said that the spell enters on a particular part of body and affects that part. When it is suspected of kyakahagu illness, the sick must consult a local exorcist (jhar-phuk-yāima). The exorcist recites mantra

for three consecutive times. In each visit, the patient's affected part is brushed off three times with a particular grass brush (tuphi).

12. Mikhawangu

The Newars of Kirtipur consider witchcraft (mikhawangu) responsible for several illnesses. When a person suspects of evil eye, he goes to a local exorcist. The practitioner can tell who, where and how the deliberate act of witchcraft (kukartu) was accomplished. He performs anti-spells - (ultamantra) to remove the evil act. When the evil spell is cast through the food items, the exorcist asks the patient to bring food items and consult him either on Tuesday or Saturday. From the tantric viewpoint these two days of the week are considered auspicious. On the chosen day the exorcist recites hymns to extract evil spells from food items and asks the patient to eat them by putting them on the patient's opposite side of the right palm.

Depending on the duration of illness and the effect of evil spell on the patient, the exorcist may continue the treatment from a few days to a few weeks. If the condition does not improve, the practitioner suggests to conduct a worship (puja) in the name of some powerful gods or goddesses.

13. Nakahaigu

When an individual happens to eat food on which a spell is cast by a female witch (boksi mantra), he contacts the nakahaigu illness. The symptoms related to nakahaigu illness are loss of appetite and failing health condition. When these symptoms appear, a tantric vaidya is consulted. When confirmed that it is nakahaigu illness, the patient is asked to bring food on which the witch is suspected to have cast her spell.

The practitioner mixes honey (kasti), clarified butter (ghya), sugar (sakha) and mustard grain flour (paka-dhu) with a knife. While he recites mantra, he puts the above mixture on food items brought by the patient. The food is divided into three equal shares; the first for the enemy (satru-bhag), the second for the offence against the enemy (satru-sikar) and the last for the patient's self-satisfaction (atma-santosh). This tantric exercise conducted by the vaidya to cure nakahaigu illness is called by a single Newari term 'ulta mantra yayu' (Lit. to perform a ritual to undo the spells of bewitchmen).

14. Kasaya waigu

When an individual falls in deep sleep at night he can get attacked by some trouble-causing agent- kasaya waigu (probably a particular kind of witch or evil spirit). Once attacked, the individual feels but cannot move any of his body parts. If such attacks are regular, the individual consults a tantric vaidya for the appropriate cure. The vaidya performs incantation (jhār-phuk) to cure the illness. The practitioner prescribes

an amulet (jantar) to wear on the patient's neck. It is believed that the amulet possesses tantric power against the 'kasāyā waigu.'

15. Sinka Pugu

The informants stated that the illness, sinka pugu, is caused by the 'feast' - god called sinka. The symptoms are loss of appetite and malnutrition. People believe that sinka pugu deo is angered when the house is ritually polluted (chau-chhu) or when it is not offered its share in proper time. Thus, in a feast parts of each food are at first offered to the sinka deo.

For the treatment of sinka pugu illness, a tantric vaidya recommends purification of the patient's house by plastering it with cow-dung. The tantric vaidya asks samples of meat items which the patient wants to eat. The meat prepared and placed before the patient who is ready to eat is snatched by another person. The patient's consecutive attempts to recover the meat are foiled. This is done to punish the patient for he had foiled to offer the share of sinka pugu deo.

Natural Causes

The Newar community of Kirtipur also believe in another category of illnesses - those which have observable cause and effect (i.e. naturalistic). The rational interpretation of disease causation can be seen in the descriptions of the following illnesses. The particular focus of the description, however, is the societal perception of symptoms described and cures used by the traditional medical practitioners.

1. Sarko

The Newars consider a twitch of muscle (sarko) disease caused by disequilibrium inside the human body. To cure the illness a priest or an exorcist who knows spell (sarko-mantra) is consulted. When the practitioner cures the twitch of muscle on one part of the body by mantras, it shifts to another part of the body and affects it. Application of mantra is continued until the illness is not completely cured.

2. Mikhāshyāgu

All types of eye infections are grouped in a single Newari term 'mikhāshyāgu,' which literally means - 'eye sores.' Informants believed that there may be several causes behind eye infections. When one contracts eye-infection he goes to a local pond early in the morning and washes his face with the pond water. This method of treatment is continued until the infection is completely cured.

3. Janāikai

In classical Newari language, the term 'janāi' means sacred cord worn by the twice-born castes in Nepal and 'kai', infected wounds

(khatira-patira) on the skin. The disease 'janāikai' appears as boils on the body in a circular form like a sacred cord. Stomach, waist and chest are the bodily parts where usually janāikai appear. The body part where the boils appear first is called 'head' (chyō) and where it appears last is known as 'tail' (nyaphyō). It is believed that when the boils complete a circle, the person may die. Understandably, when janāikai appears, the sick person immediately consults a tantric vaidya. The vaidya draws two figures of the lion (one at the 'head' and the other at the 'tail' of the infected area) with an ordinary ink pen. In the figures, the opened mouth of the lion faces the boils. It is believed that these two figures of the lion would swallow the boils and within a few days the disease will disappear.

Khotahra kai

Khotahra kai means 'big boils and ulcerations' that appear on the body. There is a local belief that khotahra kai appear when a kind of disquilibrium prevail inside human bodily parts. This belief corresponds to the humoral theory of disease causation followed in Ayurvedic and Chinese medical systems.

It is cured by a kind of incense called 'gokul dhup', which is applied on the boil except its mouth. The incense is said to help fester the boil. After the application of incense, the pus comes out. The patient may be suggested to consult an exorcist for protection from the evil eye.

A number of illnesses are attributed to several village deities. People believe that when the village deities remove their protection, (bigrya juima) illness prevail. They are Karunamaya, Indrani, Bag-bhairav, uma-Maheswar, viswakarma, mahankal, Ganesh etc. There are individual shrines and statues for all these deities and people offer regular worship (pujā) for them on auspicious days. Unlike the evil spirits, the village deities do not cause illnesses to an individual without reasons; they are the protective forces for the place and people. If an individual offends them, he suffers from illness. Under such circumstances, he prays to these deities to be saved from their designs. He may promise a worship (pujā) to the affiliated deity at a later date, which must be fulfilled. These deities may withhold their protection for an individual being attacked by evil forces. Thus villagers make regular offerings or worship.

The people believe that their life is affected by gods and goddesses whose shrines are located outside their villages. The Hārati māju, a goddess of small-pox and measles, whose shrine is at Swayambhu, Kathmandu, is worshipped regularly. This is continued even though the small-pox has been already eradicated. Similarly, the Khāyātamha deo (the protector of children) of Bhātthateni is also worshipped to ask protection. The Unmatta Bhairav of Gnyaneswor, Sankatā deo of Tebahal, Vijeswari of Sobābhagavati, Kālī of Pharping, Matse Narayan of Machhe Gaon and several other gods and goddesses are also worshipped so that they continue to protect people.

Illness and Traditional Medical Practitioners

In the eyes of local people, the traditional medical practitioner's knowledge of illnesses caused by various spirits and meditation for a cure through his use of tantric knowledge (tantra vidya) are valid and rational. His significance and legitimacy among the Newars of Kirtipur must be judged on the above perspective.

The traditional medical practitioner plays an important role in the Newar Community of Kirtipur. People trust him because his practice is grounded on the local traditions. Notwithstanding the fact that the traditional medical practitioner provides vague explanations for the cause of disease, his method of treatment incorporates the emotional aspects of the people.

Prevention of diseases and treatment of minor illnesses are areas where the traditional medical practitioners have their greatest success. It is also evident that their skills are used to appease supernaturalistic forces. There are people who increasingly rely on the modern health facilities. As one put it -- "We approach the traditional medical practitioners to cure several illnesses primarily because it has been our tradition."

The traditional medical workers are accepted by the people because they live in the village, understand the social, cultural and religious backgrounds of the community, provide care by using locally available herbs and minerals (Sharma, 1979:80). Thus, they exert a significant influence on the community by providing primary preventive and curative services. Their diagnosis is mostly based on the local beliefs and thus their treatment makes use of local herbal medicines or recitation of Tantric spells.

Despite widespread popularity of modern medicine⁴ among villagers, the Traditional Medical practitioners claim to have achieved success in controlling the various illnesses and ailments. The practice of traditional medicine is very much alive and its popularity will remain so in the foreseeable future.

Conclusion

The Newars of Kirtipur are quite able to explain and handle different types of illnesses and ailments that prevail in their communities. Perception of illness crisis and organization of care for the sick are viewed as a societal matter rather than merely as an individual affair. Recently, change has been appearing at the realm of illness perception and treatment organization but their faiths in traditional ways of illness interpretation and age old popular methods of curing still remains unshaken.

NOTES

1. I am highly indebted to Prof. Dor Bahadur Bista for giving me opportunity to conduct research in Kirtipur. I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Chaitanya Mishra for his generous guidance and regular inspiration in each step of my academic exercise. Above all, I wish to express my sincere thanks to the people of Kirtipur who provided fruitful information while preparing the paper.
2. Local Midwives (didī-aji), exorcists (Jhār-phuk-yāima), Vaidyas (vaidya), village astrologers (Joshi), bone setters (Lep taimha), female shaman curers (deo-maiju) are the renowned Traditional Medical Practitioners of Kirtipur.
3. The Chwāsa, is used synonymously with the cross-road in several Newar community studies. But the term Chwāsa as it is used in this paper may not be applied in that general sense, for some Chwāsa in Kirtipur and Panga are not located at the cross-road.
4. Kirtipur provides unique opportunity to observe an interaction between traditional and modern medical systems of Nepal. To an outside observer, there perhaps exists a rivalry between traditional and modern medical systems, but to the local people both systems are mutually complementary.

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*High Altitude Animal Husbandry and the Thakalis of Thak Khola:
Biology and Trade in the Himalays*

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A successful system of animal husbandry is the critical element in maintaining a successful trading system in an area with poor transportation, such as the Himalayas. Although I have argued elsewhere (Manzardo, 1977), that access to pack animals and plentiful pasture land gave the Thakalis an advantage over neighbouring groups in establishing themselves as the major trading group in central Nepal, my stress has been on economic and social structural factors in the Thakalis' adaptation to life as traders. In this article, I would like to change emphasis and discuss some of the biological and biosocial elements of that adaptation, as well as mention some of the special features of Thakali high altitude husbandry.

The traditional home of the Thakalis is a section of the Thak Khola region of the upper Kali Gandaki river valley known as Thak Sat Sae. The valley floor of Thak Sat Sae lies at approximately 2500 meters, with hills rising steeply on either side of the valley. The rapid changes in altitude provide the Thakalis with an habitat containing many small and sharply different micro-environments.

Domestic animals, on the other hand, are sharply limited by their own biological characteristics to certain defined altitudinal boundaries. Although there is some flexibility of habitat for each animal,¹ the animals domesticated by any group must be limited by the habitats the group has at its command. Since the Thakalis possess small amounts of land at many different altitudes, they have the potential for raising only limited numbers of animals, but can raise animals of many types.

Winter is harsh in the Thak Khola. Most animals find it difficult to survive outdoors. The Thak Khola has only a little winter pasture and fodder is limited. The animal population kept in Thak Khola for the entire year, therefore, must be kept low and be carefully selected. There is a surplus of summer pasture in Thak Khola and the animal population rises sharply at this time. These are not the animals of the Thak Khola Thakalis, however, but largely the animals from neighbouring Gurung and Magar villages, as well as the animals of Thakalis who have migrated to the south. It is profitable for the Thak Sat Sae Thakalis to rent their summer pastures to these outsiders since their inelastic winter animal population ceiling keeps their own summer pasture demand low. This is convenient to the southern groups as well. Winter pasture is plentiful for these groups, but is exhausted by the time spring arrives. Owners then have to seek out new places to pasture their animals. The pastures

of the Thakalis provide these spring and summer pastures. Without them, these groups would have to sharply curtail their animal populations as well.

The Thakalis placed their emphasis on the husbandry of pack animals; especially mules, donkeys and yak. Pack animals provided the basis for trade between India and Tibet. This was the major source of livelihood for Thakalis before the end of the trans-Himalayan trade in the early 1960's. The yearly cycle of trade, the availability of pasture and fodder, and the biological needs of the animals were closely in accord, as we shall see.

Mules were used in the southern half of the trans-Himalayan trade route. This part of the trade was carried out in the winter, when the roads were dry in the middle hills and the northern tarai and when it was too cold for mules to live for long periods in Thak Sat Sae. In the summer, when the monsoon came and made the roads impassable in the south, the Thak Sat Sae pastures were open and full of grass and the mules could have a rest, since they were not needed for trade at this time.

At this time of the year, the yak and cross-breeds, also raised by the Thakalis, were used to carry loads through the high passes into Tibet where the snows had just melted; areas too high for mules to travel. The yak prefers high pasture and can easily survive the cold winters of Thak Sat Sae. It cannot survive in low altitude areas. The biological needs and abilities of the yak, therefore, curiously complemented those of the mule. Thus the two major animals could be used at different times of the year for different transport needs. Each could be kept in its own niche within the variety of niches in Thak Sat Sae. Each served a different role within the Thakalis' overall strategy for survival.

Other animals are found in the remaining niches; animals to plough the fields, animals to ride and to provide milk and other products. These were generally few in number and relatively unimportant to the Thakalis who increasingly commanded so much economic power through their expanding trade.

It is the purpose of this article to explore the complex ballet of movement of animals through the system of Thakalis and to see how the necessities of animal husbandry affected certain historical decisions related to Thakali trade. More directly, however, we will show how the diversity of animals provided the Thakalis a means to prosper within a high altitude environment in Nepal. Finally, the animal husbandry of the Thakalis is looked at in light of its implications for the development of Nepal.

Mules, Horses and Donkeys

Mules and donkeys were the most important animals within the context of the Thakali trade in southern Nepal. Thak Khola lies in a river valley which is the major trade route between the Tibetan plateau and

the plains of India for central Nepal. It was once a very lucrative route because of the salt trade and the related trade in grain and wool.

India and the middle hills of Nepal lack salt, while it is plentiful in Tibet. Tibet was always a grain deficit area and was anxious, therefore, to trade its salt for the surplus grain of the south. Access to transport was a major factor in determining who could participate in this trade. Profit in the grain trade in the central Himalayas lies not in having a local monopoly in supply. Grain storage is still a major problem in the middle hills. Farmers or merchants are unable to store much grain for too long without substantial losses. Instead, success in trade is due to the ability to transport grain to places where it is scarce. The Thakalis ability to raise the necessary animals gave them the ability to carry out this trans-Himalayan trade at a profitable level. Since trade involved transporting wool and salt to the south and grain to the north profit could be made on both legs of the journey (Manzardo, 1977; 1978).

Mules are driven along the better-maintained roads of the middle hills between November and June each year. During that period, they walk constantly. Mules are well cared for, on the whole, but they tend to get quite run down during their working season. Once monsoon begins, the mules are taken off the trails and are brought up to pasture. Medicine is put on their backs and they are allowed to rest and heal for the summer.²

The major expense for the mule owner is fodder. While they are on the trails, mules are fed on barley grown in Thak Khola, since the grass is quickly eaten along the heavily used trails. A mule must be fed three *mana* (approximately forty-eight ounces) of grain in the morning and in the evening. Each mule consumes roughly three times a human ration in grain each day. With this type of daily fixed cost, mules cannot be kept idle very long.

The needs of the mules strongly effects the type of agricultural production found in Thak Khola. As traders, the Thakalis have been used to purchasing rice for their own subsistence for some time. Before this, however, Thakalis often subsisted on naked barley (*uwa*) in Thak Sat Sae.

Naked barley is a primary grain raised for human consumption in the high altitude areas of the Himalayas. It can be popped and ground to form *tsampa*, a precooked flour which can be mixed with hot tea to form an instant meal. It is a staple in the traditional diet of Thak Khola and to the north.

There is a second form of barley found in the area called hulled barley or *jaun*. This grain is not commonly eaten by humans in Nepal, except in its distilled form as liquor. It is still heavily produced in Thak Khola. The primary economic value of *jaun* is as a source of transportable animal fodder. The importance of this can be seen from the high production of this grain. At one point when fodder production

began to drop as the result of farmers switching to other forms of production, a localized cost spiral began in the area. It soon became the local equivalent of an "oil shortage," when the shortage of fodder began to drive up the cost of transport and with it the cost of all other goods in the area (Manzardo, 1976). We must conclude, therefore, that the heavy production of hulled barley in the Thak Khola is directly related to the needs of animal husbandry.

In spite of the sensitivity of the cost of animal transport to the price of grain, no other available form of transportation can compete with the donkey or the mule in the moving of goods in the Himalayas. If the cost of building and maintaining a motor road were included in transport cost calculations, this would include motor transport as well. This fact has tremendous implications for the development of the transport sector of the Nepalese economy.

In 1977, for example, mule transport between Pokhara and Jomosom cost ten rupees per pathi on the northward journey, and six rupees per pathi on the southward journey. Human portage cost eleven rupees per pathi going north, the uphill journey, and seven rupees south, a difference of between 10 and 20%. The actual difference is even greater most of the time, since this survey was taken at the period where the abnormal rise in the cost of fodder mentioned above, had been causing an abnormal rise in the cost of animal transport.

Thakalis' mules are not bred locally. The Thakalis have a taboo against cross-breeding animals. Most Thak Khola mules are purchased in Uttar Pradesh. A single mule costs between 2,500 and 5,000 rupees, and although they can be used for twenty-five years, they do represent a sizeable investment even for a wealthy trader.

Today, with the closing of the bulk of the trans-Himalayan trade in the Kali-Gandaki transect and the emigration of many of the wealthier Thakalis to permanent homes in the southern bazaar towns of Nepal, mules have become less important to the Thakalis of Thak Sat Sae (see Table 1). Although mules and donkeys continue to be used for transport in the area, it is no longer the Thakalis who keep them. The decline in the mule population is directly related to the lack of continued interest in localized trade on the part of the Thakalis. The people of Marpha, Panchgaon and Baragaon are still involved in local transport and keep large numbers of mules and donkeys.

Table 1. Number of Mules Kept in Selected Villages of Thak Khola.

Village	Number of mules
1. Taglung	0
2. Sauru	0
3. Larjung	15
4. Tukuche	36

Horses continue to be kept for personal transportation in Thak Khola, although they are not used for transport of goods, since a horse cannot carry as big a load as a mule, or operate as cheaply as a donkey. Therefore, they are not considered to provide enough profit in return for their upkeep. Horses must be stabled throughout the year and fodder is expensive, so they are thought of as a luxury in Thak Khola meant only for the wealthy. A horse cost 3,500 rupees in 1974.

Although the trade has diminished along the trails to the north, the importance of mules in Thak Khola still remains high. In 1977, the district headquarters of Mustang district became centred in Jomsom. Along with this came a programme of building offices and officers' quarters. The mules again took an important role in supplying food and building supplies to the government and the army. Thakalis still living in Thak Khola began to bid for supply contracts, and today one sees a return of some trade to the area. The arrival of an integrated rural development project to the area ought to have increased this trend. Without the trans-Himalayan trade, however, the importance of the trade and the mules will continue to be limited.

Yak

The yak population of Thak Khola seems to have risen in recent years (Table 2) gives a rough estimate of the yak population of several Thak Khola villages in 1977.

Table 2. Estimated Yak Population in Several Kali Gandaki Villages: 1977

	<u>Village</u>	<u>Number of herds</u>	<u>Estimated head</u>
1.	Kobang panchayat (nine villages)	29	1000+/-
2.	Tukuche	3-4	120
3.	Taglung & Kunja	3-4	120
4.	Marpha ³	15	500

Yaks are utilized for milk products by the Thakalis, and for producing several types of wool.⁴ Although the yak was once kept for its meat, it is no longer true.

The Thakalis are sensitive about the question of yak eating, because it represents the locus of an important set of status distinction in Thak Khola. Today, many Thakalis are trying to foster an image of being good Hindus. For this reason, the Thakali Social Reform Organization, which regulates much Thakali social behaviour (see Manzardo and Sharma, 1975), has banned both yak sacrifice and the consumption of yak meat within the group. The Thakalis point to their neighbours, who they claim still eat yak, and emphasize their lower status within the Hindu

system as a result of their continued old-fashioned ways (cf. Schuler, 1979: 65-72 for a detailed discussion of this situation.)

There are several yak pastures in Thak Khola. First, Marpha has its own summer and winter pastures on the western side of the river valley high above the old town of Marpha. Their winter pasture lies at roughly 4,000 metres, and the summer pasture is at 5,000-5,500 metres. The Thakalis themselves have several pastures of their own. Two are found in the hills above Taglung on the eastern side of the valley. The first is a winter pasture called Nupsang; and lies at 4,000-4,500 metres elevation. The second, the summer pasture, is called Marche and is just above at above 5,000 metres. Another pasture called Muli is found on the western side of the valley, high above the village of Kobang at about 3,700-4,200 metres. This area is only used in the winter each year. All yaks which use this pasture must be driven across the Kali Gandaki river twice each year going to and returning from the summer pasture at Mache. In order for the yak to find summer pasture they must be brought down from the Muli side, across the Kali Gandaki and be driven back up into the Marche summer pasture.

The yaks are in the hands of professional herdsmen or gothala. The work of a gothalo is lonely and dangerous, the trails to the pasture steep and dangerous, and the yaks bad tempered and unpredictable. The gothalo lives with about fifty other herdsmen for twelve months in the high pasture areas. These men come down only occasionally to pick up supplies. Gothala are paid a salary and are given a share of the dairy products. They are responsible for the care and safety of the herds as well as for collecting the milk and preparing milk products for delivery. The gothalo milks the yak and separates the butter. All other dairy operations are carried out in the village by the yak owners or their servants. Their only outside contact for most of the year is with villagers who come to collect these dairy products each week.

Milk production is primarily for household consumption, although butter is sold for use in preparing the salty Tibetan-style tea favoured in the area and for use in religious rites. A type of dried cheese is made as well. There is a shortage of milk products from November to June, after the yaks calve each year. Production increases again until the following winter.

Yaks are shorn once a year, just before they are driven to the summer pasture in mid-May. The ahir from the outer coat is woven into a heavy water-resistant cloth called pherpa in Thakali. This cloth is used to make the cover of the herdsman's tent. The finer inner coat of the yak is used to make blankets of the highest quality (seldom done by the Thakalis these days) or the fine hair can be sold for use in making shawls and mufflers.

In 1977, a female yak (mah) with calf cost approximately 1,500 rupees. A herd-owner has between 37,500 and 75,000 rupees invested in his herd. Yaks and cattle are not cross-bred in Thak Khola. We have pointed out that it is taboo for Thakalis to cross-breed animals. Cross-

breeds or dzoba (dzo: singular) are purchased in Dolpa and brought down to Thak Khola. Furer-Haimendorf confirms the statement of some informants that there was once an extensive trade in yak-cattle cross-breeds with Sherpas living in Solukhumbu. The cross-breeds of the Sherpas were considered superior to the local varieties and their sale was profitable enough to consider the risks of the long trek and smuggling them across from Tibet under the noses of the Chinese (cf Furer-Haimendorf, 1975: 195).⁵

Dzoba are generally slower and more docile than yak. This makes them more valuable as pack animals in most cases. Dzoba also are able to operate at lower altitudes than yaks. Kawakita quotes an old Tibetan proverb, "Where maize is planted yak cannot go" (1974: 43). It is generally held that yak cannot live below 3,500 metres for any length of time, dzo have been seen by the author operating in Darchula Bazar at 3,000 feet. Yaks are needed, however, to cross the highest passes.

Yaks and dzoba were more valued before the closing of the Tibetan trade. Now cross-breeds are becoming less common. Although dzoba could still be found in Marpha in 1977 and may still be present, they were no longer being raised in Thak Sat Sae at that time. Yaks' are still considered to be economical because of their wool and dairy production.

Cattle, Lulu, Oxen and Agriculture

The Thakalis keep few cattle of the low altitude varieties (Bos indicus and Bos taurus) on a permanent basis. The reason for this low cattle population is the lack of winter pasture in the Thak Khola and the need to stable cattle in winter. Although summer pasture is plentiful it is cattle from villages south of Thak Khola that are brought to pasture during the warm season. These cattle have to return to the south, however, before the winter begins. For the Thakalis themselves, stable space was limited and was often needed for pack animals, which made visits throughout the winter. Since the pack animals were the major source of profit for the Thakalis, the larger cattle seemed a poor investment and were seldom kept.⁶

Thakalis and other groups living north of Kanti do keep a miniature breed of cattle called lulu to provide daily milk needs. These animals produce nearly three litres of milk per day, a high production relative to their size and fodder consumption. Lulu are relatively cheap to purchase. A four month old lulu cow cost only 550 rupees in 1977, or only about 100 rupees more than a mature goat at that time. Moreover, the lulu are so small that they can easily be stabled throughout the year and thus all of its manure can be captured for use in agriculture.

Oxen continue to be kept in areas where grain production is important, but fruit production and other types of agriculture had begun to replace grain production in many areas by 1977. So oxen had appeared to be growing less essential to local agriculture as frequent ploughing was seldom practiced in Thak Khola (Manzardo, 1976). My own survey of the area for 1977 is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Cattle Holdings in Selected Villages of Thak Khola, June, 1977

<u>Village</u>	<u>Altitude (ft.)</u>	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>lulu</u>	<u>oxen</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Kunja	8700	400	0	100	500
2. Ulla Taglung	9200	150	0	40	190
3. Larjung	8600	125	0	14	139
4. Tukuche	8600	150	0	50	200

The Thakalis' emphasis on animal husbandry, of course, has affected the crops they select. This is more important for the lower altitude animals such as cattle or sheep. These animals are allowed to use the agricultural fields during some portion of the transhumance cycle; eating grain stubble or feeding on fallow areas. For this reason, the agricultural cycle has to take into account the transhumance cycle. Beans and millet, for example, cannot be grown in Kunja and Taglung because they would be standing in the fields during the period when those fields would be needed as pasture for cattle. The interconnections between the pastoral cycle and the agricultural cycle are important, but the situation is quite common in Nepal and not particular to Thak Sat Sae. Mules and higher altitude animals, however, create no such problem for farmers as they are either on the trail or in pastures far above the agricultural areas.

Sheep and Goats

There are four types of sheep and goats found in Thak Khola. These are: a low altitude variety of sheep (bhera); a high altitude variety of sheep called chaaluk; a high altitude goat called changara; and the common low altitude goat or bakhra.

Sheep were once used as pack animals by the Thakalis, and were particularly important on the section of trail between Tatopani and Khasa, south of Thak Sat Sae. This was a poor road at one time and could only be traversed by human porters and sheep (cf. Hamilton, 1819: 274, Bista, 1976:89, Hagen, 1971 plate captions for plates 67 and 71; Tucci 1962:27). A new road was built on the east bank of the river in 1962, which made the entire route passable to mules.

Sheep can carry quite extensive loads. Elsewhere we have estimated that a flock of two hundred sheep could carry as much as 2.25 metric tons of grain. The general load is about two pathi per head, one in each of two sacks (lukhal) lashed one on either side of a sheep.⁷ Kawakita reports that he saw sheep being used between Jomosom and Lumlei, probably on his 1953 expedition, although he does not specify the date. It is unlikely that sheep were continued to be used long after the new stretch of road opened the entire Jomosom trail to use by larger animals. This caused the Thakali-owned sheep population to dwindle. Others, as we have pointed out, continue to bring their sheep and goats to Thak Khola to pasture in the summer. Table 4 lists populations of sheep and goats in selected areas of Thak Sat Sae in 1977.

Table 4. Locally-owned Sheep and Goat Populations in Selected Villages in Thak Khola in June, 1977.

<u>Village</u>	<u>Goats</u>	<u>Sheep and Goats</u>
1. Kunja	-	400
2. Ulla Taglung	-	0
3. Larjung	150	0
4. Tukuche	150	0
5. Marpha	-	351

Thakalis do not keep sheep in large numbers for the same reason they don't raise many cattle. The severe limits on available fodder and winter pasture make it uneconomical for the Thakalis to keep large flocks of sheep. Instead the Thakalis rent their excess summer pasture space for the flocks of others and keep the size of their own flocks quite small.

The Thakalis of Taglung rent the use of the Marche pasture to outside shepherds for cash. In 1977, for example, the rent was 100 rupees per flock of sheep for the season. There were eight flocks using the pasture that year. The owner provides his own shepherd, dogs and supplies.

The other Thakali villages rent their share of the other common pasture, the Muli pasture, as a group and demand payment in kind. In 1977, the price was one to two sheep from each flock depending on the flock size. The sheep which are collected as rent are used for the yearly sacrifices to the village earth deities.

Tukuche was once a centre for the livestock trade. According to Furer-Haimendorf, as many as 20,000 sheep were driven down through Thak Khola each year until 1959, when the Chinese put restrictions on the trade. Until 1945, for example, the price of a goat was 25 rupees. By 1958, the price had risen to 40 rupees. In 1960, the price of a goat had fallen again to 30 rupees as refugees began to cross the border into Nepal with their livestock from Tibet with no access to pasture land and no way to feed their flocks. When this surplus disappeared, the price again rose and by 1962 it reached 70 rupees a head (1975:193-194). Kawakita reports that the price of a sheep in 1963 was 93-75/- (1974:95). By 1977, the price was more than 400 rupees.

After the start of the Chinese restrictions on the livestock trade, Thakalis began to go to Dolpa to buy sheep. Jest, in a personal communication, reported extensive Thakali sheep holdings in Dolpa. As the Thakalis began to migrate out of Thak Khola, however, their interest in the sheep trade diminished and others took it over, often with Thakali financial backing. Although locally-raised livestock continues to be sold, but at nowhere near the pre-1959 levels.⁸

Wool trade was a major source of income for the Thakalis at one time, although very little of the wool which was traded was raised in

Thak Khola. According to Furer-Haimendorf (1975:191-193), Tibet was a major source of Indian wool, but although the Thakalis had control of that portion of the trade that came through the Kali Gandaki valley, it still represented very little of India's overall imports. By 1962, the wool importing business had already declined immensely.

Conclusions

We have discussed the linkages between animal husbandry and trade in Thak Sat Sae. We have pointed out that the Thakalis emphasized raising animals which either directly supported their trade links: such as mules and yaks; or which were themselves objects of trade: such as sheep and goats. Few animals not related to trade were kept.

The study of the features of such an animal-based transportation system in the Himalayas, although now largely a historical study, yields some important points relevant to the development of Nepal. First, it is clear that the Thakalis were able to maintain an efficient and profitable trade network in Nepal utilizing only pack animals, without having need for more modern forms of transport. This system could be maintained without major road improvements, although these were accomplished when necessary with minimal external support (such as the improvements made on the Khasa sector of the Jomosom trail in 1962). The transport system of the Thakalis was cheap and efficient within its own context, and was manageable within the means which were available to hill dwellers.

The study of this Thakali system, however, shows that roads themselves are not sufficient. The key to the success of the Thakalis has combined access to adequate roads with having the proper animals and a means to feed them efficiently. The Thakalis relied on mules for southern trails and yaks for the northern passes. When the trails were bad, the Thakalis used sheep to carry their loads. Thus the animals used were those that could best manage under local conditions. The mode of transport used was appropriate to the roads.

The Thakalis also developed an efficient management programme for their pasture areas, controlling access and charging outsiders for its use. They also developed a system of grain production for use as animal fodder. The Thakalis kept down their cattle population and limited other peripheral animals so that their limited resources could be concentrated on animals which brought the greatest return. Their example could be applied to other areas in Nepal.

The creation of such a transport system is not a simple task. No single activity, such as mere road building, can bring such a system into existence. This is a task which requires a truly integrated approach.

There is a belt of potentially utilizable grassland near the Mahabharat range of Pyuthan, Rolpa and Salyan districts, for example. This area could be developed to increase fodder production. This development would require the efforts of several agencies. The Livestock Department,

for example, has several varieties of improved grass seeds available to it. Agriculture would have to develop an extension programme to teach pasture improvement and production techniques. The Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development would be needed to begin the construction of mule trails or improve current trails, shifting emphasis away from expensive and hard-to-maintain motorable roads. Livestock and mules must begin to be imported, or even better, to be bred for transport. Together, these efforts could act to support the formation of a transport system more appropriate to Nepal's hills.

Currently, there are many places outside of Thak Khola which use pack animals, but horses or sheep are being used instead of mules (Manzardo, Dahal and Rai, 1976). Horses are neither strong nor economical because they require better quality food than mules. These need to be replaced on a systematic basis. Roads need to be improved so that larger animals can be used. Credit is needed to help individuals purchase mules.

I visited a Small Farmers Development Project in Rolpa in 1981. Loans were being arranged for many poor, landless farmers, to make it possible for them to purchase pack animals to make a living. Other projects were to be carried out in the programme area and materials had to be transported to local project sites. The SFDP group organizer, therefore, financed his projects in such a way that the recent purchasers of pack animals would be given "captive contracts" making it possible for them to pay back at least part of their loans from money earned transporting these needed goods. This type of approach could be applied elsewhere.

If the goal of improving hill transportation is to increase the flow of goods and services into the hills and get the loads off human backs, then a system of mule trails, rather than motorable roads, seems a more reasonable approach. Mule roads are easy to maintain. They do not increase oil consumption and thus do not deplete the nation's foreign currency reserves. Most importantly, mule trails allow local economies to grow slowly, without being inundated from the outside. The Thakalis have shown that motor roads are not the only answer, nor even the best answer to the problem of hill transportation in Nepal. Other alternatives exist and should be explored.

NOTES

1. Water buffaloes were found by the author living at 8,000 feet in Taglung in 1977 far above their normal expected range. (Kawakita (1974:43), for example, has reported that buffaloes are not found north of Dana). Keeping buffaloes at this high altitude necessitated nearly constant stabling in an area of the Thakali house normally reserved for commercial activity. As Taglung was an agricultural village and had no commercial activity as such, the area was free for other uses, here to stable buffalo. Since Thakalis claim they don't eat buffalo (as it is considered a cow

from a ritual point of view) and since the milk from a buffalo is hardly profitable enough to justify efforts to keep it; it should be assumed that the buffaloes are kept for reasons other than economic ones. Upon more careful study, it was found that the wife of the householder came from a Thakali family living in Pokhara. She had married back to Thak Khola and brought with her a taste for milk tea, rather than butter tea. The buffalo was a concession to her past.

2. Mules are extremely hardy. I once saw a mule fall from a steep trail south of Ghorepani in the monsoon of 1974. The mule fell, fully loaded, crashing through the trees along the steep hill side. The children walking with us began to cry and the wife of the driver got a look of resignation on her face. The driver slipped over the side, I thought, to pick up the packs of the now broken body of a dead mule. He was gone about ten minutes, but when he came back, he was leading the mule. No human would have survived that fall, yet the mule continued up the trail.
3. Valiex claims that Marpha had a yak population of 102 (1974:273-274). This figure seems more reasonable than the one I was given, but as I was unable to get up to the Marpha yak pasture in 1977. I have repeated the figure passed on to me by the Marphalis.
4. Thakalis believe that the blood of the yak has medicinal properties. They say, that because the yak lives in the high pastures where medicinal plants grow, they must eat them. The medicinal properties of these herbs are said to enter the bloodstream of the yaks, and therefore would be absorbed by those who drink the blood of the yaks. Drinking yak blood is considered, therefore, to be highly beneficial; especially to sedentary Thakalis who spend the year sitting in their stores in large bazaar towns. The benefits of getting out and trekking four to eight days to the yak pasture, spending several days in the fresh air and then returning over the same strenuous route is not considered by the Thakalis in their evaluation. Instead of exercise; the Thakalis attribute the improvement in health to drinking the yak blood itself.

Yak blood is drunk two times each year: once just before the yaks leave Nupsang pasture, and the other in the summer when the yaks are in the Marche pasture. The second of these periods is more important, when hundreds of Thakalis close their stores and travel to the pastures for fifteen days of eating, drinking and good fellowship.

Blood is taken from the carotid artery by the herdsman. He knows how to extract the blood from the yak without injuring it. No more than six tea glasses are taken from each yak. The blood if then sold for about three and a half rupees per glass (1977 figures). The flow of blood is staunched by placing a piece of dung over the cut.

5. A complete account of yak-cattle cross breeds in Dolpo can be found in Jest, 1975, 138-141. The quality of a cross breed can be determined if you know whether the mother was a cow or a yak, whether the animal is a first or second cross and finally the question of the genetic qualities of the parents. A female yak crossed with a bull is called a drimdzo and female cow cross with a yak bull is called a phamdzo.
6. The Thakalis were once largely dependent on itinerant trade as a basis for survival and as a consequence were largely dependent on their pack animals. In recent years, however, the Thakalis have increasingly migrated out of Thak Khola and have taken up positions as retail merchants in more southerly bazaar towns (Manzardo, 1978). The combination of migration out of Thak Khola and increased dependence on sedentary commercial occupations mean that very few Thakalis are now concerned with occupations which bring them into contact with livestock to anywhere near the degree that once was the case. Many of their decisions involving livestock and the relative importance of one animal over another, however, still remain valid. Although the Thakalis may still own large numbers of animals, individuals actually handling animals usually belong to other groups.
7. This measurement of the load capacity of sheep was arrived at based on figures obtained on fieldwork done among the Byanshi or Sauka, by the author and his colleagues in 1976. The Byanshi at that time were still using sheep for trade transport. The sheep was the only animal that could be used in that far-western area, due to the poor quality of the narrow roads (cf. Manzardo, Dahal and Rai, 1976: 88). Kawakita claims that the pathi, a Nepali measure, gained popularity because it coincided with the load of one sheep's bag (1974: 29).
8. Meat and the preparation of meat have a special significance to the Thakalis. Some of my most delightful afternoons in Thak Khola were spent participating in activities involving the preparation of meat. Since goats or sheep are expensive and since refrigeration is nonexistent, it is most economical to purchase and consume meat communally. The sharing out of the meat and its preparation becomes a community activity, rather than an individual family one. All Thakalis in the community can share in these activities as equals regardless of their economic status within the community.

The animal is slaughtered by cutting its throat outside the house of one of the shareholders. The blood is saved in a pan. Nothing goes to waste. The carcass is cleaned (skinned in the case of a sheep, the hair burned off in the case of a goat) and beheaded before it is brought into the house and laid on a tarpaulin in the middle of the main room. The entrails are removed and the carcass is cut into small pieces by the shareholders. The meat is then arranged in equal piles for later distribution; one pile for each share purchased in the sheep or goat.

Several Thakali delicacies are prepared by the men who have shared in the cost of the goat and while the food is being prepared, the wife of the householder sells liquor to the shareholders.

Each man then gives his marker; a feather, a button, a small pebble etc., to a small child. The child is told to put a marker on each pile of meat. Since the child does not know which marker is which, the effect is nearly a random selection. Each man takes the pile corresponding to his marker or markers. Any disappointment is soon dispelled when the cooked meat and soup is brought out. Everybody eats and drinks his fill. Everybody pays his bill for liquor and the meat and sets off for home.

This activity serves to bring together the community together to carry out other activities as well, such as the settling of community problems or discussions about joint activities. Its importance is reiterated by the fact that this communal meat preparation by an individual's close friends and neighbours (mag-pa) is an integral part of the large ancestor worship ceremony (Iha chowa), which was once an important part of the Thakali ritual year.

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*Educational Aspirations and Expectations of Rural
Youths in Rautahat District of Nepal*

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Vital information on rural youths in Nepal, such as their educational aspirations and expectations is still wanting. One may ask several questions about the rural youths. Such as what are their educational aspirations and expectations? Answer to these questions are still lacking.

In 1978-79 the enrollment of children was 65.3, 18.6 and 13.7 percent at primary, lower secondary and secondary levels respectively (Gurung in *The Children of Nepal*, 1981: 88). This low and decreasing enrollment highlights the increasing drop-out ratio of the youths in the country. From this, it is inferred that a high proportion of our youths belong under the category of out-of school and no-schooling youths.

Hence, the situation is rather grave that the misery in youths lie in the corner of the Nation. If we look towards education and culture, the drop-out and the no-schooling youths remain the number one problem of the elementary schools in spite of free elementary (Prathamik) education. While this drop-out and no-schooling pattern is distressing, it is worsened by the fact that most are unskilled and are, therefore, either unemployed or underemployed. This is because, the phenomenon is at its height when the youngsters finish elementary education, especially in the rural areas. Like other developing countries, youths constitute a major percentage of the population in Nepal. These youths do not get adequate opportunities to gain knowledge and to develop skills to make themselves responsible and productive citizens. There is an urgent need, therefore, to provide them with the necessary opportunities and alternatives for their proper development.

In this line, Castillo (1971: 16) opined that as a residual category, the out-of school youths ipso facto tends to be viewed as a problem. Such a conception unfortunately reinforces merely the stereo-typical belief of the common man, which may be stated simply as "in as much as they are of school age and they are not in school, then efforts must be made to get them back to school; and if that is not possible then the second best thing would be to devise programmes which would compensate for their lack of schooling."

Objectives of the Study

This study attempts to determine the educational aspirations and expectations of rural youths in Rautahat district which lies on South-Central Terai belt of the country. First and foremost this paper aims to define these two variables. Educational aspiration refers to level of schooling the youths want to attain. Whereas, educational expectation refers to level of schooling the youths could have attained, considering their economic and other opportunities.

Selection of Village Panchayats and Respondents

Out of the nine Panchayats which had high schools, three were randomly selected. The three Village Panchayats were Potihahi Bharahari, Santapur, and Pipra Bhalohia. The following were the criteria for the selection of the study area

- a Village Panchayat having a high school;
- a school within the Rautahat district; and
- agriculture as the main occupation (livelihood of the populace).

From the list of three different sampling population, (in-school, out-of-school, and no-schooling youths) a proportionate sample of 10 percent from each category was drawn using random tables. These constitute the respondents. Finally, 122 youths became the respondents of this study.

Hypothesis of the Study

To determine the educational aspirations and expectations of the rural youths the following null hypothesis (H_0) was formulated.

The educational aspirations and expectations of rural youths are not associated with the following independent variables which were taken into consideration in this study.

Demographic-socio-economic factors:

1. age
2. sex
3. civil status
4. sibling position
5. religion
6. caste
7. level of schooling
8. size of farming land of parents
9. tenure status of parents
10. income of parents.

Family Background

1. Educational attainment of parents.
2. Occupations of parents.
3. Number of Children.
4. Parents' influence on the youth.

Research Design and Research Instrument

The research design followed in the study was the Ex-Post Facto Design, because the researcher was not in a position to control the variables as they already took place.

The data were classified, and analysed in terms of their statistical meaning and significance taking into consideration the objective of the study. The Chi-Square (X^2) statistic was computed to test the validity of the null hypotheses. The hypotheses were accepted or rejected to 0.05 level of significance.

Method of Analysis (Categorization of Variables)

Age was dichotomised into teen or young. Respondents whose age were 15-19 were classified as teen, while those whose age ranged from 20-25 were classified under young category.

Sex was categorised as either male or female.

Civil status was categorised as either single or married.

Sibling position was classified as eldest, middle, and youngest children of the family.

Religion was categorized as either Hindu or Muslim.

Caste was categorized as Brahmin (or equivalent), Kshyatriya (or equivalent), Vaishya (or equivalent) and Sudra (or equivalent).

Level of schooling was classified into four groups based on the number of years of schooling, namely, illiterate, primary (1-3 yrs. of schooling) middle (4-7 yrs. of schooling) and high (8-10 yrs. of schooling and above).

Size of farming land of parents was classified into small landholding (less than 1 ha.), medium (1-5 ha.), and large (above 5 ha.).

Tenure status of parents was categorized into owner cultivator, owner and tenant, and tenant.

Income of parents was the annual income of the family which was categorized into low (up to Rs. 2,500/-), middle (Rs. 2,501/-, Rs. 5,500/-) and high Rs. 5.510/- and above).

Occupation of parents was classified into farming, employed, business, housekeeping and labour. Respondents who were engaged in farming

were classified under farming. Those who were employed in any kind of employment were classified under employed. Respondents who were engaged in any kind of village business such as vending were classified under business. All kind of farm and non-farm labours were classified under labour.

Number of children was categorized into small family (4 children and less), medium family (5-7 children) and large family (8 children and above).

Educational aspiration was dichotomised into low or high. Respondents who aspired no interest to study and those who aspired for primary, middle school, and vocational education (1 yr. of schooling after 7th yrs.) were placed under low. The respondents who aspired for high school and college education were placed under high aspiration.

Educational expectation was dichotomized into low or high. Respondents who expected no interest to study and those who expected for primary middle school and vocational education (1 yr. of schooling after 7th yrs.) were placed under low. The respondents who expected for high school & college were placed under high expectation.

Selected Factors and Level of Educational

Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youths

It was hypothesized that the level of rural youths' educational aspirations and expectations would not be affected by demographic-socio-economic factors and family background factors. However, the Chi-square independence revealed that civil status, sibling position, level of schooling, level of schooling of fathers and mothers, tenure status of parents, size of farming land of parents, income of parents, number of children, parents' influence on educational expectation, parent's influence on occupational aspiration, and parent's influence on occupational expectation were significantly related to the rural youth's educational aspiration and expectation.

Caste was found to be significantly related to the rural youth's level of educational aspiration and expectation. Whereas, in the case of the youth's educational expectation, religion, occupation of father, and parent's influence on educational aspiration were found to be associated. The Chi-square test revealed that religion and parent's influence on educational aspiration on the youth were significantly related to the rural youth's level of educational expectation. Occupation of father was found to be especially important. (Tables 1 & 2).

Civil Status

The educational aspiration and expectation of the respondents were highly affected by their civil status; implying that the educational aspiration and expectation of the respondents who were single were "high"

Table 1: Chi-square values for the test of relationship between the Independent Variables and level of educational aspiration of rural youths.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	X ² VALUES	DF	LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE
<u>Demographic-Socio-Economic Factors</u>			
Age	1.20	1	ns
Sex	1.91	1	ns
Civil Status	47.91	1	**
Sibling Position	12.22	2	**
Religion	3.91	1	ns
Caste	13.13	3	*
Level of Schooling	36.06	3	**
Tenure Status of Parents	23.74	2	**
Size of Farming Land of Parents	50.43	2	**
Income of Parents	27.45	2	**
<u>Family Background</u>			
Level of Schooling of Father	54.37	3	**
Level of Schooling of Mother	19.41	2	**
Occupation of Father	7.04	3	ns
Occupation of Mother	2.92	2	ns
Number of Children	56.06	2	**
Parents' Influence on Educational Aspiration of the Children	2.40	1	ns
Parents' Influence on Educational Expectation of the Children	17.96	1	**
Parents' Influence on Occupational Aspiration of the Children	28.23	1	**
Parents' Influence on Occupational Expectation of the Children	40.22	1	**

* Significant.

**Highly Significant.

ns Not Significant.

Table 2: Chi-square Values for the Test of Relationship between the Independent Variables and Level of Educational Expectation of the Rural Youths.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	X ² VALUES	DF	LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE
<u>Demographic-Socio-Economic Factors</u>			
Age	1.08	1	ns
Sex	2.09	1	ns
Civil Status	33.00	1	**
Sibling Position	29.03	2	**
Religion	6.32	1	*
Caste	9.66	3	*
Level of Schooling	29.35	3	**
Tenure Status of Parents	17.12	2	**
Size of Farming Land of Parents	56.70	2	**
Income of Parents	23.46	2	**
<u>Family Background</u>			
Level of Schooling of Father	44.73	3	**
Level of Schooling of Mother	20.87	2	**
Occupation of Father	20.16	3	**
Occupation of Mother	4.61	2	ns
Number of Children	29.97	2	**
Parents' Influence on Educational Aspiration of the Children	4.94	1	*
Parents' Influence on Educational Expectation of the Children	12.35	1	**
Parents' Influence on Occupational Aspiration of the Children	24.23	1	**
Parents' Influence on Occupational Expectation of the Children	54.44	1	**

* Significant.

** Highly Significant.

ns Not Significant.

compared to those who were married. The relationship between the two is direct and positive; that is, if the respondent is single, the higher is his educational aspiration and expectation. It is usually presumed in Nepalese society that a single person is more free than a married. One He has less responsibility relating to family affairs. He is free to think only about himself. Thus, it is safe to assume that the rural youths who are single are more likely to aspire and to expect higher education than those who are married.

Sibling Position

Statistically, educational aspiration and expectation of the youth were found to be influenced by his sibling position. The inference that may be made from this observation is that the older (eldest) ones have more responsibilities in the family. In some cases they have to give up their education to be able to acquire employment so that they can support the family including the education of their younger brothers and sisters. In this case, the relationship between the two was found negative; that is, if the respondent is middle or younger, the higher is his educational aspiration and expectation.

Religion

The educational expectation of rural youths was affected by their religion. The majority of the respondents were Hindus. Chi-square revealed that those who were Hindus have higher expectations than those who are Muslims. Generally, in the Nepalese society, the Hindus belong to the upper strata. They have more exposure in society. So, it can be concluded that due to their religion, they can expect more in their education as compared to the Muslims.

Caste

The Chi-square test revealed that belonging to a certain caste significantly influenced the level of educational aspiration and expectation of the rural youths. This finding implies that the caste of the youth affected his educational aspiration and expectation. Youths, who came from Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya had high educational aspirations and expectations as compared to those in the lowest caste, Sudra.

The variations in the level of educational aspiration and expectation of the respondents with varying castes could perhaps be explained in terms of their social status and more exposure to society. The upper caste people have higher prestige in society. Presumably, they have better exposure to the outside world. They perhaps become more knowledgeable and have a better grasp of the importance of education.

The Sudra belongs to the lower stratum in the social stratification. Generally, the Sudra used to perform functions which pay much less. Though they might have been exposed to the importance of education, they cannot afford the same. In Nepalese society, the thinking is that "why

do you think if you cannot afford?" It may be argued that due to these deeply ingrained values in society they are inhibited from aspiring to or expecting higher education.

Level of Schooling

The Chi-square test revealed that the level of schooling of youths was significantly related to the level of educational aspiration and expectation. This means that educational attainment affects the level of educational aspiration and expectation to a great extent. The relationship between the two is direct and positive; that is, the higher the educational attainment of the rural youth, the higher the level of his educational aspiration and expectation. This is to be expected since high educational attainment is usually associated with better performance in any undertaking. It is presumed that an educated person possesses better thinking. Thus, it can be assumed that the rural youths with middle or high school education can visualize more than that of their illiterate or primary educated fellows. So, they aspire for and expect high education.

Tenure Status of Parents

The Chi-square result revealed that youths whose parents were owner-cultivators had high educational aspiration and expectation as compared to those youths whose parents were owners and tenants, and tenants.

From this, it may be presumed that the owner-cultivators cultivate their own land, harvest more, are economically better off and thus possess high status compared to the owners and tenants. They are in a better position to send their children to school. Hence, their children might have shown high educational aspiration. Though their expectation was lower than what they aspired for, it was still high compared to the children of the other two groups (owners and tenants; and tenants).

Size of Farming Land of Parents'

It was found that the children from medium-landholding families had high educational aspiration and expectation compared to those of large and small-landholding families. Though the former expected less than what they aspired for, it was still high compared to the latter two groups.

From this, the following argument can be presented. Youths from the large-landholding families are from comparatively higher income groups. They have less strain and stress in their life. They tend to be more easy-going in their ways.

On the other hand, the youths from small-landholdings though they aspired for higher education might not have expected much because of their economic limitations.

Youths from middle-landholdings are from the middle-class family. They experienced hard times in their struggle to maintain the family, as well as to fulfill their aspirations and expectations. They are hard-working and also have comparatively better standing in society. The struggle in their lives might have made them realize the importance of education for upward mobility. They know how hard their parents have tried to support them in their education. This might have made them aspire and expect more as compared to the youths of the other two groups.

Income of Parents

The relationship of youths' educational aspiration and expectation and the income of parents were found highly significant. Chi-square result showed that youths from the middle-income family had high educational aspiration and expectation as compared to high and low-income families. Though the youths from high and middle-income families could expect equally, youths from low-income groups had very low expectation.

The findings may seem to be in order. In most cases the low-income groups have a hand-to-mouth existence. The parents are usually not in a position to support their children's education. Even though some of the children aspire for high education, they cannot expect it. The youths from high-income group might have an easy-going life. They are not faced with the hand-to-mouth problem. The parents' property is in the back of their lives. They might have thought that they do have their parents' property to support them. This might be one of the reasons why they give less importance to education.

Youths from the middle-income group might be in the stream of struggle. It is a question of survival. They know that their parents had to face hard times to support their education. If they do not perform well, their parents will not support them further. Family situation might have influenced them to realize the importance of education. They might have regarded education as a passport for a job and, ultimately, as support for their family in the long run. This might have influenced them to aspire for and expect higher education than the other two income groups.

Level of Schooling of Parents

In both cases, parents' level of schooling and youths' educational aspiration and expectation were found highly significant. The Chi-square result revealed that as the level of youths' parents' educational attainment increased, a greater number of respondents tended to have high aspiration and expectation.

From this, it can be argued that educated parents were more knowledgeable. They gave importance to education, and they were in a better position to analyze and finalize their children's situations as compared to illiterate and less educated parents. They realized that education can uplift them to a better social standing. In spite of their economic limitations, the educated parents' children could aspire and expect more, when compared to illiterate and primary educated parents.

Occupation of Father

Educational expectation was high among children whose fathers' occupation was farming and employee as compared to the children of those fathers who were small village businessmen and labourers.

Therefore, it is safe to hypothesize that parents who had large land-holdings and who were employed under private or government service were in a better position to send their children to school. This made their children keen for education.

Number of Children

The Chi-square result showed the significant relationship between number of children and educational aspirations and expectations of the rural youths. It was found that the youth from small-size families could aspire for and expect high education more frequently as compared to the children from large and medium families.

The significant relationship between the two variables could perhaps be attributed to the possibility that parents who had a small family could afford the education of their children. The youths from large and medium families might have thought of their family situation and their parents' condition and could not aspire and expect what the youths from the small family had shown.

Parents' Influence on Educational Aspiration

It was found that the youths' educational expectation was dependent upon the parents' influence on educational aspiration for their youth. The relationship between the two is direct and positive; that is, the higher influence of parents on educational aspiration for the youths, the higher the educational expectation of the youth.

It is usually presumed that the youth whose parents had high educational aspiration for him could expect for high education.

Parents' Influence on Educational Expectation

The youth's educational aspiration and expectation were closely related to the parents' influence on educational expectation. It was also found that with parents who could expect for their youths' education, the majority of the youths' would also aspire and expect for their education. Here the relationship was direct and positive. Hence, it is safe to assume that youths whose parents could afford the education of their children would accordingly make the latter aspire and expect for their children.

Parents' Influence on Occupational Aspiration for the Children

It was found that parents' influence on occupational aspiration for children was related to the youth's educational aspiration and expectation.

It was also found that parents who influenced their children for blue-collar jobs would make children aspire and expect low education. On the other hand, parents who aspired for white-collar jobs would make children also aspire for high education.

As these relationships were direct and positive, it was safe to assume that childrens' aspiration and expectation were influenced by the parents.

Parents' Influence on the Youth's Occupational Expectation

The Chi-square result revealed positive and direct relationship between parents' influence on the youths' occupational expectation and educational aspirations and expectations. Hence, it is safe to predict that parents who could influence white-collar jobs for their children would make children automatically aspire and expect for high education, without which white-collar jobs for them is impossible.

However, the youths' age, sex, religion, occupation of father, occupation of mother, and parents' influence on educational aspiration for their children were not associated with the youths' educational aspiration. Similarly, age and sex of the youth and the occupation of mother were also found not affecting the youths' educational expectation.

The above findings reject the hypothesis that the educational aspirations and expectations of the rural youths were not associated with their demographic-socio-economic factors and family backgrounds.

With these above findings it is inferred that within the independent variables taken into consideration in this study, many were associated with the rural youths' educational aspirations and expectations.

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Indo-Nepal Migration: Problems and Prospects

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Introduction

Nepal is a land of ethnic diversity. The proper understanding of Nepal's ethnic diversity is not possible without understanding the role of international migration. The population of Nepal represents waves of migration from the north and the south at different periods of history. As such, Nepal contains both the Mongoloid and the Indo-Aryan races as well as their admixture. The legend of Manjusri coming from China and the draining away of the Kathmandu Valley lake and the subsequent rehabilitation provides some clues as to the earliest settling of the people from the north. Nepalese hills became a pleasant habitat for the people coming from the harsh climatic conditions of the Tibetan plateau (Hagen, 1961:39). Later on, however, the geographical and historical compulsions brought Nepal and India close to each other. The relations between Nepal and India date back to hoary past. Before the occupation of India by the British, large scale migration of population into Nepal from the south resulted in the wake of invasions and disturbances in India. Thus migration of population from the north was of voluntary nature in search of pleasant habitat, whereas that from the south was of involuntary or forced nature in search of secure place for shelter against political persecutions and repressions by powerful enemies in India.

The Indo-Nepal Migration Prior to British Invasion in India

Before the Muslim invasions in India, migration from India to Nepal was confined to the kings, nobles and their attendants. During the Muslim invasions it encompassed a large section of Indian population who took refuge in Nepal to avoid proselytization into Islam as well as political persecutions. The intruding refugees were mostly Hindus and were in such a large number that they encroached upon the fertile lands of the indigenous populations such as Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Rai, Limbu, Sunuwar, Jirel, etc., and drove them to the slopes of the hills. With the introduction of the caste system and conversion into Hinduism, the immigrants from India greatly affected the social structure of the Buddhists and the indigenous aborigine population observing animism. Prior to the introduction of the new code of law, the social and religious structures of Nepal were largely Buddhist and partly Brahminical. Though the ruling dynasties from the third century A.D. to the present day are Saivas, the harmony among different religions in Nepal is unparalleled in the world. As regards religious fervour of the indigenous ethnic groups living south of the main Himalayas, Hinduism sat very lightly amounting to little more than respect for the Brahmin and reverence for the cow (Nepal and the Gurkhas, 1965:21). These ethnic groups do not fall into any of the caste hierarchies of the Hindus.

The Indo-Nepal Migration During British Colonial Rule in India

The British occupation of India virtually stopped immigration of Indians into Nepal for shelter against political persecutions, excepting the refuge of Nana Saheb, one of the leaders of the Mutiny of 1857, and the widows of King Ranjit Singh of Punjab and Nawab Wazir Ali Shah of Oudh. However, a large number of Nepalese royalties, nobles and elites continued their political exiles to India during and after the period of the unification of Nepal and most of them went to the holy city of Banaras. Throughout the nineteenth century, Banaras has been a hot-bed of intrigue for restoring some royal exile to Nepal (Wheeler, 1889:574-75). In the twentieth century, it became the centre of political exiles from Nepal and political movements in Nepal. Moreover, Banaras has been the major place of attraction for the Nepali Brahmins seeking Sanskrit education, because there are several Sanskrit institutions providing free scholarship.

Migration of population between Nepal and India since the late eighteenth century has become more of the economic character than of the political one. The attempts made by the kings of Palpa, Makwanpur and Bijayapur to reclaim the Terai forest for cultivation through the Indian immigrants were also followed by the Gorkhali rulers after the unification of Nepal (Dahal, 1978:51-52). The period of unification and expansion of Nepal's territory during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century was accompanied by movement and settlement of the Nepalese in Darjeeling, Sikkim, Kumaon and Garhwal. However, large scale emigration of Nepalese to India for economic opportunities started after the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-15. After the fall of Malaun fort under Kazi Amar Singh Thapa, Major General David Octerlony compelled Amar Singh Thapa to enter into convention on 15 May 1815, entitling the Gorkhalis to have liberty to enter into the service of the British East India Company (Aitchison, 1863:110-112). By the time the war in the west ended in 1815, about 4,650 soldiers of the Gorkhali (Nepali) army had deserted and sought service with the Company in response to the invitations of the British commanders (Pemble, 1971:348), and the British raised three regiments from the Gorkhalis which later became the I, II and III Gurkha Rifles (Tuker, 1957:86-87). Sensing the resistance offered by the Gorkhali army to the British, Sikh King Ranjit Singh tried to recruit Gurkhalis in the Khalsa (Sikh) army by offering high pay and also entered into treaty with Nepal Government in 1839 (Naraharinath and Basnyet, 1964:21-22).

Nepal up to 1950 was essentially a military state, the royal family and the military leaders represented the total leadership of the country. The energies of the government were concentrated primarily on the collection of revenue to finance its growing military and administrative expenditures. Concern for the well-being of the people seldom found a reflection through the disbursement of public funds (M.C. Regmi, 1971:14). Since the signing of the Sugauli treaty in 1816, Nepal's prospect for territorial expansion virtually stopped and Nepal since then had been able neither to increase the strength of the army nor to maintain the existing strength. So the government opted for a policy of army service on a rotation basis. Those in the service were termed as jagiriya and

those off the employment as dhakriya. In 1832 Brian Hodgson had estimated 30,000 dhakriyas in the Nepalese army and strongly pleaded with the British government to enlist them in the Indian army:

"In my humble opinion they are by far the best soldiers in Asia; and if they were made participators of our renown in arms, I conceive that their gallant spirit, emphatic contempt of Madhesias (people of the plains) and unadulterated military habits, might be relied on for fidelity; and that our good and regular pay and noble pension establishment would serve perfectly to counterpoise the influence of nationality, so far that could injuriously affect us" (Hodgson, 1874:41).

The Nepalese government was principally against the recruitment of its people in the Indian army and as such it was extremely difficult to get Nepalese in the Indian army. When the British carried out recruitment secretly by sending recruitment agents into Nepal, the Nepalese government disliked the clandestine operations and took strong measures like putting to death some of the Gurkhas on their return home on leave and confiscating property of those serving the Indian army (Mojumdar, 1973:11). Owing to the harassment meted out by the Nepalese government to the families of the Gurkhas serving the Indian army, and to make the recruitment easier emigration of the Gurkhas from Nepal with their families was encouraged with the establishment of settlements of the Gurkhas in the hills of India, such as Dharmashala (Bhagsu), Bakloh, D. rjeeling, Dehradun and Shillong. There are also considerable colonies scattered over Burma and Assam; those in the former started in the days when Gurkhas were enlisted into the old Burma Military Police (Nepal and the Gurkhas, 1965:61), and those in the latter among the pensioners of Assam Rifles (Gait, 1892:67).

The installation of the Rana regime in 1846 through Kot Massacre heralded the end of the era of active enmity and beginning of good faith, understanding and cordiality with the British, because Jung Bahadur cherished the goodwill of the British for the consolidation and support of his regime. Jung Bahadur himself leading 12,000 Nepalese troops went to help the British to quell the Indian Mutiny of 1857. In recognition of that assistance, the British government, under a treaty concluded on 1st November, 1860, restored to Nepal the tract of territory on the Oudh frontier (Far Western Terai) which had been ceded to the British government in 1816 (Elles, 1884:27). As agriculture was the main source of revenue of the government, Jung Bahadur wanted to reclaim the new areas as well as the other areas of the Terai to appropriate income for his family, favourites and supporters as well as for the state. Because of the problem of ecological adaptation in the hot, humid, and malarial environment of the Terai the hill-people were reluctant to settle in the Terai, and because of the absence of the provision of landownership rights Indian immigrants were also unwilling to migrate into the Terai. As such, many governments failed in reclaiming the Terai. Realising the possibility of reclaiming the Terai through immigrants from India, Jung Bahadur made provision in the first legal code of the country entitling the alienation

of land through sale or purchase to the foreign nationals residing in Nepal (the Legal Codes, 1966:35). Since then the reclamation of the Terai forest for cultivation started and resulted in immigration of the Indians from Bihar and United Provinces in a large number.

The Rana families for the first time employed European and Bengali teachers from India to impart education to their children (Wright, 1877: 141). During Jung Bahadur's time, Indian traders were permitted to carry on trade at specific points in the Terai. However, some of the Indian traders were carrying on trade in Kathmandu city even before that period to cater to the luxurious needs of the royal families, rulers and nobles (Hodgson, 1874:94). During the Rana period, initially most of the technical manpower needed for running schools, colleges, hospitals, hydro-electric installation, water supply, ropeway and railway, came from India. Moreover, India became an important country for the Nepalese to acquire higher education in academic and technical fields.

The beginning of the present century has been the most important period in the history of Indo-Nepal migration. Nepal's assistance to the Younghusband Mission to Tibet and the discovery of Chumbi Valley of Sikkim as a trade route from India to Tibet gave a death blow to the importance of Nepal as a trade route between India and China. Some of the traders and artisans, mostly the Newars and a few Sherpas, managed to move to Kalimpong and Sikkim. The Nepalese were the only foreigners from South Asia permitted to carry on trading activities within Tibet. However, the large-scale migration of the Nepalese from Darjeeling and from eastern Nepal has been connived at by the British since last century. The Nepalese who accounted for over one-fourth of the population of Sikkim at the end of the 19th century, has reached to two-thirds of Sikkim's present population, making the original Bhutia-Lepcha of Sikkim a minority in their own country (Rustomji, 1971:141). The overwhelming number of Nepalese migrants to Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri of West Bengal constitute those who migrated from eastern Nepal for employment in tea gardens.

By 1904, the three Gurkha battalions of 1816 have swelled into sixteen and by 1908, the Gurkha Brigade had reached its permanent establishment of 20 battalions organised in 10 rifle regiments numbered from one to ten. During World War I, Nepal helped to raise more than 200,000 men for recruitment in the Indian army, and they fought in every theatre of war with casualties of 20,000 people. The magnitude of the movement of the Gurkhas for recruitment in the Indian and the Nepalese armies (Nepal also assisted the British by sending its own army) was so great that able-bodied males from the villages of the martial races (Magars and Gurungs) were difficult to get during the war (Bruce, 1928:xxvii). The drain of manpower led to the deterioration of agriculture and food supply in the hills as well as loss of government revenue from the land. Moreover, there was difficulty of getting back the Gurkhas discharged from the army service, because most of them stayed back in India to work either as watchmen, or even to work in the police under the government, or in other positions available to them. For many Indian merchants had good faith in the Gurkhas as honest and loyal servant (Bruce, 1934:200).

Of the 10,932 Gurkhas discharged after World War I, only 3,838 returned home in 1919 (Mojumdar, 1975:73). A large number of the Gurkhas, therefore, settled permanently in India. Before World War II, the number of Nepalese living in Calcutta alone was estimated at 30,000 (Nepal and the Gurkhas, 1965:131). During World War I, the Indian independence movement gained momentum, and sensing the ever-growing threat to the British and their settlements, the British government encouraged the retired Gurkha officers to settle with their families around major settlements of the Britishers in the hill resorts and other places of India such as Shillong, Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Kohima, Dehradun, Mussoorie, Almora, Simla, Ranikhet, Dalhousie, Nainital, Abbotabad, Murree, and Quetta. Thus the children of the Gurkha officers were educated in the best educational institutions of India, but the educated Gurkhas were, indeed, not enrolled in the Indian army, they were suspected as potential transmitters of political ideas to the Gurkha regiments (Mojumdar, 1975:30). In order to ensure the regular supply of the Nepalese in the Indian army, in 1919 the British government provided the Nepal government with a gift of one million rupees annually in perpetuity (Tuker, 1977:201). This gift and the entire revenue of the state were treated as the ruling Prime Minister's personal income, and they deposited the money in foreign banks particularly in India.

The British government's formal recognition of Nepal as a sovereign independent country under the treaty of 1923 led to the opening of the Terai for Indian traders. The industrial development of the eastern Terai which started after the establishment of Biratnagar Jute Mills in 1936 led to another wave of immigration from India, mostly entrepreneurs, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labourers to run various industries. Industrial development in the Terai did not result in mobility of labour from hills to the Terai because of the problem of ecological adaptation of the hill people in the hot, humid and malarial environment of the Terai on the one hand, and the preference for working in India due to high wages and highly prestigious social position accorded by the hill society to the people working in the foreign army.

The involvement of the Gurkhas in World War II was on a grander scale. The 20 battalions were expanded to form a total of 51 battalions comprising 44 Infantry and Parachute battalions, 6 Training battalions and one Garrison battalion (Mansergh and Moon, 1980:865). The Gurkha casualty was 24,000 persons. During this period it was difficult to get able-bodied men not only from the lands of the Gurung and Magar, but also from the lands of the Rai and Limbu. There had been a greater difficulty than ever before in getting discharged soldiers to return to their homes and a large number of the Gurkhas released in 1946-47, made only short visit to their homes before going back to India for civil employment.

The Issue of the Gurkhas During Transfer of Power in India

The Cripps offer of 1942 came up with the declaration regarding the complete transfer of power from British to Indian hands. However, the probable effect of change in India's constitution on the Gurkhas remained unresolved for a long time (Kansakar, 1982:91-94). Initially,

the British were totally against transferring the Gurkhas to the future Indian government. However, with constitutional change in prospect, the British government realised Nepal government's anxiety regarding the maintenance of the position of the Gurkhas numbering nearly 100,000 in the Indian army, because Nepal's economy needed to export her manpower (Mansergh and Lumby, 1970:307-308). In order to ensure the steady supply of recruits in the Indian army, the Indian government increased the annual "present" of Rs. 1,000,000 which had been given to Nepal in perpetuity since 1919, to Rs. 2,000,000 in 1945 (Mansergh and Lumby, 1970:62). British Commander-in-Chief indicated the desirability of retaining as many as possible of the pre-War Gurkha battalions to garrison British colonies like Iraq, Aden, Ceylon, Burma, Singapore, Hong Kong and Borneo because it was difficult to get British troops for these places. Moreover, the cost of maintaining Gurkha units was very low. After the War, the Labour Party came to power in the U.K. and adhered to the policy that any decision on matters relating to India should be made only after consultations with the interim government in India. The Indian leaders, however, opposed the employment of Gurkha troops by the British government, and opted for retaining them in the post-war Indian army officered by Indian officers. They suggested the settlement of the issue by negotiation between the U.K., Nepal and India (Mansergh and Lumby, 1980: 30-31). In 1946, Dmbar Singh Gurung, President of All India Gurkha League had already declared that his league did not countenance the continuation of Gurkha units in the British Imperial Service. The reason given then and later was that such service should prejudice the relation of the Gurkhas with Independent India (Tucker, 1950:268). The Gurkhas had to go through the ordeal of being a symbol of contempt for the people of India. The assistance of the Nepalese army in quelling the Mutiny of 1857, the involvement of the Gurkhas in Jalianawalabagh massacres at Amritsar in 1919 and the use of the Gurkhas in the Quit India movement of 1942 have led the Indians to consider the Gurkhas as stooges of the British. The outcome was that though the Cripps' offer of 1942 assured to safeguard minor communities, the Gurkhas did not feel assured because they had not been recognised as a community in India despite their living in India for generations. In order to safeguard the interest of the Nepalese living in India, All India Gurkha League which was established after World War I, appeared as a political party in June 1943 with loyalty to the British Raj (Rawat, 1980:182-186). But when they realised that their fate was bound with India because most of the Gorkha settlements would fall within the Dominion of India, they became anti-British and actively participated in the independence movement after 1945, and a lot of the Gurkhas joined Indian National Army of Subhash Chandra Bose. During the communal riots in the Punjab and Bengal in 1946, the Gurkhas, though mostly Hindus themselves, carried out the task required of them by their British officers with strict impartiality and saved the lives of millions. But the Bengal ministry, by unfair treatment and taking a communal line, exposed the Gurkhas to the abuses from both the Hindu and the Muslim papers. They were also subjected to a cruel boycott by the Hindus though long months of 1946 (Tucker, 1950:234). The Bengal landlords turned the Gurkhas and their families out of their houses and they were generally boycotted in the food-shops. The Gurkha soldiers were subjected to insult and mole-

stations wherever they travelled (Tucker, 1950:193). The general slogan prevailing against the Gurkhas at that time was "Hindustan for the Hindus, Pakistan for the Muslims and Kabaristan (graveyard) for the Gurkhas." It is remarkable that despite being a man of independence and self-respect, the Gurkhali did not lose his temper and retaliate in a violent and bloody fashion.

When the British thought of retaining the Gurkhas in the imperial force outside the Indian army with the notion that the Gurkhas had complete loyalty to the British Raj, Prime Minister Padma Shamshere said that Gurkhas who wished to serve in the new Indian army should be allowed to do so. He opined that Nepal is landlocked, and with the unbending policy towards the State of Hindustan's leaders it was likely that whatever economic pressure was necessary would be exerted to keep her compliant. But the most important fact was that Nepal's economy cannot support both the people and her top-heavy family of rulers, their kinsmen, bastard children and retainers. So poor peasants must seek a living outside. The long tradition of and preference for emigration of the unskilled hill people for employment opportunities in army service and other economic opportunities, is still continuing, and the existence of these avenues has tended to postpone the necessity of responding to the pressure of population in the hills and the crisis arising out of it since a long time. Moreover, the rulers of Nepal had substantial personal investments in India, as it was most necessary, apart from political reasons to remain on terms of friendship with the Central Government of India (Tucker, 1950:629). The attitude of the Nepalese government and Nehru's indispotion in dispensing with the Gurkhas to the British put the British government in an awkward position.

Sensing the difficulty of getting Gurkhas, Viceroy Lord Mountbatten hit upon a plan for settling once and for all the question of the Gurkhas by putting forward the issue of the Andaman and the Nicobar islands before the Indian government stating that Britain would retain them for her strategic requirements in case India was unwilling to offer the Gurkhas for the British (Mansergh and Moon, 1982:319-320). Sensing the strategic importance of these islands to India, Nehru agreed to the British proposal (Mansergh and Moon, 1982:608). On 8th August 1947, it was revealed that the 2nd, 6th, 7th and 10th Gurkha regiments had been selected for continued service with the British, while the remaining six regiments should serve the Indian government (James and Sheil-Small, 1965:254). However, the tripartite agreement between Nepal, India and the U.K. was signed only on 9th November 1947. Had the Gurkhas not been loyal to their duties, there would be no question of maintaining them in the Indian army after independence. Nehru's concern for the Gurkhas was governed by India's own situation at home. The Indian army was largely composed of Muslims accounting for 60 percent of the army. Nehru said to the Viceroy Wavell that India would need a first class army if she did win her freedom (Glendevon, 1971:174). Moreover, the Congress Party was not in a position to take the Sikh into confidence, and they were at a dilemma regarding the inclusion of the Punjab in the Indian Union because of the Sikh's persistent demand for autonomous status (Collins and Lapierre, 1982:125). The loyalties of the Gurkhas did not affect their service to either India or the U.K.

The communal violence that ensued after the transfer of power to India and Pakistan by the British resulted in mass exodus of the Hindus from Pakistan and also a large number of Muslims from India, and the brutality committed by rival groups over the refugees en route their aspiring homeland could be controlled only by the Gurkhas escorting the refugees. Captain R.E. Atkins and his Gurkhas spent weeks escorting refugee column, taking Sikh into India, then bringing hordes of Moslems back over the same route (Collins and Lapierre, 1975:378). In India, the recruitment of the Nepalese is not confined to Gorkha Rifles, they are to be found in large numbers in Assam Rifles as also in Jammu and Kashmir Rifles, Garhwal Regiment, Kumaon Regiment, Border Security Force, Central Reserve Police, and so on. The magnitude of the recruitment of the Nepalese in the Indian army fluctuates with its hostility with its neighbours. The strength of the Nepalese in the Indian army has been ever increasing since conflict with China in 1962, and it is further increasing with growing hostility and conflicts with Pakistan. The large-scale emigration of the hill people to India and the preference for employment in activities requiring no skill at all, such as army and police services, watchman, household servants, and security guards have been governed by availability of these jobs in Indian cities and towns to a greater extent.

After the installation of democracy in 1951, the Nepalese who were exiled to India during the Rana regime and also domiciled Nepalese returned to Nepal in a large number. It also marked the complete relaxation on movement of population between India and Nepal. This movement was the result of the Indo-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950 which agreed to grant, on a reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature. It is to be noted that Nepal has open border policy not only with India but also with China. However, with the posting of Indian military check-post along the Sino-Nepal border in the early 50's according to the clauses contained in the letter of exchange of the treaty of 1950, the Sino-Nepal border became closed one, requiring people on either side to have visa to travel between the two countries. However, the movement of population between China and Nepal was very low as compared to that between Nepal and India.

The agricultural, industrial and commercial potentialities of the Terai attracted more Indians than the native population from the hills. By the time the Terai became attractive for the hill people after the eradication of malaria, large tracts of the alluvial part of the Terai were already owned and cultivated by the Indian immigrants; only the marginal lands north of the Terai, the Bhabar region and some forested areas of Jhapa and the far Western Terai were available for the hill people (Kansakar, 1979:250). Reclamation of the Terai and the resulting agricultural development which led to a large-scale immigration of labourers from India was further increased by land reform. The demand for labour from India is closely related with the prevailing large holdings, absentee landlordism and the inefficiency and inability of the hill migrants to work in the Terai environment. Moreover, cultivation of

land by the immigrant labours preclude the risk of according tenurial right to the tillers (Kansakar, 1982). The Temporary Citizenship Certificate Distribution Teams in 1976 failed to detect the foreigners in the Terai and as such a large number of foreign nationals living in the Terai were successful in acquiring the Nepali citizenship certificate. It has been alleged by the local people and the media that corruption among the government employees deputed for that task was widespread, and it has been a major reason behind the acquisition of citizenship certificate by foreigners as compared to the indigenous population. The task force on migration constituted by the National Commission on Population has noted the encouragement to immigration by existing citizenship policy. This is evidenced by the unprecedented increase in award of citizenship certificates based on parentage and birth right, following the change in rules regarding naturalized citizenship (the National Commission on Population, 1983:49).

Distribution of Indian Migrants in Nepal

India-born and Indian nationals constitute the largest number of foreign-born population and foreign nationals in Nepal. According to the census of 1961, there were 76,311 Indian citizens in Nepal representing 69.3 percent of the foreign citizens, while there were 324,159 India-born population representing 96 percent of the total foreign-born population. The number of Indian citizens went up to 128,829 persons in 1971, an increase of 68.8 percent within a decade. The India-born population on the other hand, has gone down to 322,718 persons. However, the census figures cannot indicate the magnitude of migration between India and Nepal, because census enumerators cannot find correct answers regarding a sensitive issue like migration. According to the reply given by the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P.V. Narshingha Rao, in Indian Parliament on 24 July, 1980, there are 3.8 million people of Indian origin in Nepal out of which 23,87,973 persons have already acquired Nepalese citizenship (Dinmān, 1980:42:38). This statement sparked off several reactions in Nepal as a threat to national integrity and sovereignty. Since then immigration of the Indians has been looked upon as a matter of serious concern in Nepal, and this concern was further reinforced by the incidents in the north-eastern states of India from where a large number of domiciled Nepalese fled into Nepal.

The Terai region contains 96.6 and 94.8 percent of the total Indian nationals and India-born population in Nepal respectively (Table 1). According to the census of Nepal (1971), Indian nationals are characterised by preponderance of males over females indicating immigration of enterprising population such as traders, businessmen, skilled and unskilled labour, etc. India-born population is characterised by preponderance of females, and they are mostly confined to the Terai indicating large-scale marriage migration owing to the socio-cultural similarities on either side of the Indo-Nepal border. In the Terai, 65 percent of the India-born population are females. Similarly, according to the census of India (1971), 85.2 percent of the Nepal-born population in Bihar are females.

Table 1
Indian Nationals and India-Born Population in Nepal 1971

Geographic Regions	Indian Citizens			Indian Born Population		
	Total	Percen- tage	Female	Total	Percen- tage	Female
NEPAL	128829	100.00	57660	322718	100.00	207112
MOUNTAIN REGION	346	.27	145	2212	.69	1286
1. Eastern Mountain	203	.16	89	1172	.37	617
2. Central Mountain	42	.03	17	68	.0x	26
3. Western Mountain	7	.01	4	59	.02	27
4. Far Western Mountain	94	.07	35	913	.28	616
HILL REGION	4037	3.13	1652	14689	4.55	6977
1. Eastern Hill	536	.42	318	1743	.54	868
2. Central Hill	2706	2.10	1074	4929	1.53	2204
3. Western Hill	766	.59	352	7376	2.28	3141
4. Far Western Hill	29	.02	8	641	.20	3141
TERAI REGION	124446	96.60	55863	305817	94.76	198849
1. Eastern Terai	56045	43.50	23181	100991	31.29	54964
2. Central Terai	27279	21.18	13670	118427	36.70	89,791
3. Western Terai	32249	25.03	15058	68894	21.35	44221
4. Far Western Terai	8873	6.89	4015	17505	5.42	9873

Source: Census of Nepal, 1971.

Considering skill, entrepreneurship, efficiency and cost effectiveness, neither the government nor the private enterprises have been able or willing to replace Indian immigrants by providing employment to the relatively unskilled and in-efficient Nepalese citizens (Kansakar, 1979:54). Moreover, any attempt at developing industry, commerce, trade and construction activity in the Terai in particular, and the hill in general, has actually benefitted the Indian immigrants who by virtue of comparatively high level of skill and entrepreneurship have made it very difficult for the less skilled and less enterprising Nepalese to compete with them.

Distribution of Nepalese Migrants in India

In 1911, there were 274,251 Nepal-born persons in India and it went up to 526,526 persons in 1971, an increase of 252,275 persons or 92 percent over a period of 60 years. However, up to 1951 the increase was steady (Table 2) with a moderate decline in 1921. The decline has been

Table 2: Nepal-Born Population in India (1891-1971)

Year	Persons	Percentage of all Foreign-Born Population
1891	234,260	36.4
1901	239,127	36.2
1911	274,251	42.0
1921	260,220	45.9
1931*	303,139	44.7
1951	278,972	-
1961	498,836	5.3
1971	526,526	5.6

*The figures upto 1931 include Nepal-born population in Burma where the Nepal-born population in 1931 was 23,889 persons.

Source: Census of India, 1891-1971.

attributed to World War I casualties of the Gurkhas and the influenza epidemic of 1917. The decline between 1931 and 1951 might be due to World War II casualties of the Gurkhas, the Bengal famine, the partition of India and the communal violence before and after independence of India. However, there was a drastic increase from 278,972 persons in 1951 to 498,836 persons in 1961, an increase of 219,864 persons or 78.8 percent over a decade. The drastic increase might be related to large-scale recruitment of Nepalese in the Indian army and the relaxation of movement of Nepalese within and outside the country after 1951. The increase between 1961 and 1971 is, however, 27,690 persons or 5.6 percent only. Nepal-born population in India constitute 0.1 percent of the total population of India while India-born population in Nepal constitute 2.79 percent of the total population of Nepal. The highest percentage of Nepal-born

population was in Arunachal Pradesh (3.33 percent), while the percentage of India-born population in Nepal was 7.05 percent of the total population in the Terai.

More than 90 percent of the Nepal-born population in India is confined to Northern India. Nepalese emigrants to India were tending to spread rather than to concentrate in the border areas (David, 1951:39), and as a result, their proportion in bordering states of Sikkim, West Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh has declined from 70.0 percent in 1951 to 59.2 percent in 1971 (Table 3). The magnitude of Nepalese emigrants in India has been increasing ever since India's confrontation with China in 1962 and with Pakistan in 1965 and 1971, and this has been further increasing as a result of deteriorating situation of law and order in the cities and towns in India where there is a great demand for Nepalese as security guards and watchmen. However, the seasonal movement of Nepalese hill population to north-eastern India and Sikkim and Darjeeling district of West Bengal has declined as a result of agitation in Assam, restriction imposed by Sikkim State and the Central Government declaring Sikkim and Darjeeling as strategically sensitive areas.

In Assam, the Nepalese, by clearing the heavy tree jungle infested with wild animals and malaria for sugarcane, prepared the land for subsequent cultivation of rice by the Assamese (Lloyd, 1923:42). The Nepali migrants entered the State (Assam) with their traditional occupation of dairy farming and wetland in the sub-urban areas. They have been successful due to the absence of competition from local inhabitants (Gogoi, 1980:10). Tea plantation in Assam, which started in 1839, also seems to have attracted a large number of Nepalese due to the practice of granting rice plots to plantation workers by the tea-estates. However, Nepal government imposed restriction on migration of Nepalese to those areas on the plea that they were being used as slave and bonded labour (Rana, 1925:35-36). The planters used all methods, including physical coercion, to prevent their labour from leaving tea garden, since labour was scarce (Bhowmik, 1980:6).

The tribal heartland of the north-eastern states, also known as 'seven sisters', has been a troublesome spot in India since the British period. The political assimilation of these states, without the assimilation of these distinct and diverse tribal people into the great Indian cultural milieu, after independence has been a major reason behind dissident underground movements by the Nagas, Mizos, Manipuris, and others in these states. However, the use of the Gurkha troops to quell underground movements of these groups since the 60's brought about more hostility between the people of Nepalese origin and the native population. This resulted in the frequent fleeing of the domiciled Nepalese from these areas. These people had to enter Nepal because of the nativist policy of the Sikkim government.

Nepalese emigrants to India are not confined to able-bodied males only. Able-bodied females are also emerging as important migrants to India, and these females constituted an important supply of women for

Table 3: Nepal-Born Population in India (1961-1971)

	Nepal-born Population		Absolute Increase	Percent Increase	Annual Rate of Growth
	1961	1971			
INDIA	498836	526526	+27690	+ 5.55	+ 0.54
Andhra Pradesh	1860	3535	+ 1675	+ 90.05	+ 6.63
Assam	82624	91665	+ 9041	+ 10.94	+ 1.04
Bihar	108971	122528	+13557	+ 12.44	+ 1.22
Gujarat	3352	4315	+ 963	+ 28.73	+ 2.56
Himanchal Pradesh	9699	19718	+10019	+103.3	+ 7.35
Jammu and Kashmir	310	1296	+ 986	+318.06	+ 15.38
Kerala	424	1280	+ 856	+201.89	+ 11.68
Madhya Pradesh	7605	8825	+ 1220	+ 16.04	+ 1.50
Maharashtra	13704	18422	+ 4718	+ 34.42	+ 3.00
Manipur	3576	6940	+ 3364	+ 94.04	+ 6.86
Mysore	1398	1705	+ 307	+ 21.96	+ 2.01
Nagaland	4926	9278	+ 4352	+ 88.35	+ 6.53
Orissa	2476	3555	+ 1079	+ 43.58	+ 3.68
Punjab	11719	11166	- 553	- 4.72	- 0.48
Rajasthan	2053	2626	+ 573	+ 27.91	+ 2.49
Sikkim	5352	5569	+ 217	+ 4.05	+ 0.40
Tamil Nadu	2645	2465	- 180	- 6.81	- 0.70
Tripura	861	930	+ 69	+ 8.01	+ 0.77
Uttar Pradesh	111718	83459	-28259	- 25.29	- 2.87
West Bengal	109190	100365	- 8725	- 7.99	- 0.84
Andaman & Nicobar Is.	129	173	+ 44	+ 34.11	+ 2.99
Arunachal Pradesh	8223	15551	+ 7328	+ 89.12	+ 6.58
Dadar & Nagar Haveli	9	4	- 5	- 55.56	- 7.79
Delhi	5892	9670	+ 3778	+ 64.12	+ 5.08
Goa, Daman & Diu	~ 10	298	+ 288	+2880.00	+ 40.42
Laccadive, Minicoy & Amindive Is.	110	188	+ 78	+ 78.91	+ 0.55

Source: Census of India 1961 and 1971.

Assam includes Maghalaya and Punjab includes Haryana and Chardigarh.

brothels in Indian cities. According to the report in a newspaper in 1973, out of 10 prostitutes in the city of Bombay, 3 were from Nepal. The rescuing of the destitute girls by voluntary organisations and by the police is well-known to all. Serious concern has been expressed by the Nepalese people regarding the growing trafficking of Nepalese women to India for selling into brothels in Indian cities.

Some Problems and Prospects Associated with Indo-Nepal Migration and Relations

India's support for the democratic movement of 1950 is a fresh chapter in the memory of the Nepalese. In 1948, Nepal had also made a loan of 10,000 Nepalese army to India, when the Indian government faced major challenges in both Hyderabad and Kashmir. Since British period, Nepal's relations with her powerful neighbour were based on the loan of her men, and these relations were governed by the friendship and constant intercourse that the transaction promoted. The Gurkhas are said to have no religion when they are soldiers, and it is an important quality which distinguishes them from their Indian colleagues in the Indian army, who are characterised by diversity in caste, creed and belief (Kansakar, 1982: 111-112). The Gurkhas, because of their valour, constitute the major spearhead of Indian defence, and they have demonstrated their valour in India's war with her neighbours in 1962, 1965 and 1971. The drain of these Gurkhas from Nepalese hills has deprived the hill areas of most enterprising and dynamic elements of population, and the absence of these youths has stagnated the development of the hills. Though the remittances from the army and civil services in foreign countries have relieved the people from economic hardship by the hills, the remittances have only worked as oxygen to keep the deteriorating economy of the hills just alive rather than to transform it. The economy of the army villages has remained the same as it had been several decades ago (Kansakar, 1982:117-118).

India's contribution to the development of agriculture, industry, irrigation, hydro-electricity, transportation and communication, education, etc. particularly in the initial phase of Nepal's economic development as well as the aftermath has been significant. Nepal's contribution to India, particularly in the field of irrigation, is no less important, e.g. the Sharada canal, the Koshi Project and the Gandak Project which irrigate considerable portions of land in India as compared to that of Nepal. In the industrial development, the investment by Indian private investors individually and in collaboration with Nepalese is very significant. It is to be noted that the investment in India made by the Nepalese is no less important, because the Ranas have made considerable investment in India, they conceded to Indian government proposition regarding the recruitment of the Gurkhas in the Indian army and the treaty of 1950 which was kept secret until 1959. The clauses in the letter of exchange of this treaty contained a number of restrictions imposed on Nepal by India in the matter of defence and foreign assistance beyond India. In 1972, among the largest tax-payers of India, General Singh Shamsher Rana occupied the third position. These clauses contained in

the letter of exchange of Peace and Friendship: 1950 are being looked upon by the Nepalese as India's design to keep Nepal as its dependent satellite and these clauses have remained a major hitch in maintaining smooth relations with India as well as with other countries.

The attitude of Indian politicians has been to look with suspicion any assistance Nepal gets from China. The debate in both houses of Indian Parliament on Kathmandu-Kodari Highway linking Kathmandu with Lhasa and terming of that highway as "military road capable of moving tanks" bears ample testimony to the fact. However, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has to say, "China is a neighbour of Nepal and naturally they would like to remain friends with China also. But I do not think it in any way interferes with the very close friendship and close cultural ties which we have with them" (Bhasin, ed., 1970:116). When the Chinese constructed a ring road around Kathmandu and Lalitpur, some Indian papers carried the news that the road is wide enough to land jet fighters. Frequent strains in the relationship between Nepal and India at government level are not due to political, geographical, economic or cultural reasons, but due to the amateurish handling of some of the issues by Indian politicians (Sharma, 1970:2). The early fifties has been a period when India's interference in Nepal's internal affairs reached its zenith. The treaty of 1950, in effect, brought Nepal within the security system the Indians were attempting to build for South Asia, without providing the Rana regime with the type of formal guarantee that had been extended by the British. In addition, after the installation of democracy, the Indian Ambassador, C.P.N. Singh functioned as Tribhuvan's political advisor and even interfered directly in policy and political matters (Rose and Scholz, 1980:37, 47). Even a person of the stature of the late Jawaharlal Nehru loosely informed the Indian Parliament by making a statement in 1950 that Nepal's independence was "formal" (Sharma, 1970:2). However, Nehru was the Indian leader who aspired for and established cordial relations between Nepal and India. Speaking at a press conference in New Delhi on 18 January 1961, he said, "Broadly speaking, our relations depend not really on any person's goodwill, on Nepal's goodwill, on that government or this government. They depend on geography and history, which cannot be easily done away with" (Bhasin, 1970:55).

Indo-Nepal trade is an important issue which has been the subject of constant discussion between the two countries. Nepal's foreign trade is predominantly confined to India, and it is characterised by an adverse balance of payments on Nepalese side. Since British India, treaties between Nepal and India regarding trade and transit which are of particularly crucial importance to a small, poor, landlocked country have so far tended to regulate rather than to encourage Nepalese exports (Blakie, Cameron, and Seddon, 1980:12). The present condition of Nepalese manufactured goods seeking export to Indian market, require 80 percent of the manufactured items consisting of indigenous materials. It is a difficult hurdle for developing industries to meet local demands and to export to narrow down the trade gap between Nepal and India. Inder Malhotra has remarked, "Nepal's economic needs should be treated with the maximum understanding and generosity even if India has to suffer losses here and

there, provided no grave damage is done to the Indian economy. India's unwillingness to adopt such attitude has been due to the diversion of import and export between Nepal and India in which a particularly unsavoury group of Indian businessmen in Nepal have been the main promoters as well as beneficiaries of the various rackets. If allowed unchecked, the activities of these ugly Indians may do incalculable damage to India-Nepal relations" (Malhotra, 1970:6). India's trade protectionism has a direct bearing on import of consumers' goods from overseas beyond Nepal's own needs, with the calculated purpose of smuggling them across India. Smuggling from Nepal to India has been termed as "smuggling by the Indians, to the Indians and for the Indians." In absence of industrial development in Nepal, the strain on the limited natural resources of Nepal is ever-increasing with an adverse impact on ecosystem of the Himalayas. The ecosystem and natural resources of the Himalayas are the common interest of both countries, the deterioration of which will have a disastrous effect on climate, agriculture, irrigation and hydel-power. Therefore, the exploitation and conservation of the ecosystem and the natural resources of the Himalayas is possible only through mutual cooperation of both countries.

The ever-growing pressure of the Nepalese population on limited agricultural land and a lack of industrial development in the country is creating an acute problem of unemployment. The urge for providing native population with whatever economic opportunities available in the country has become the need of Nepal. In such a situation, it is not surprising to find a growing sense of nationalist sentiment among the Nepalese. The development of these sentiments among the Nepalese is the reflection of a growing sense of the nativist attitudes and policies in the north-eastern States and Sikkim State of India. There is no dearth of All Assam Students Union - or of Gana Sangram Parishad-like elements in Nepal, and one element in Nepal is spreading the rumour that there are 5.22 million Indians in Nepal (as against 3.8 million people of Indian origin as stated by the External Affairs Minister of India), and they have demanded the introduction of work permit for immigrants and to discard open-border policy between Indian and Nepal.

Indo-Nepal migration is a unique type of international migration, not to be found elsewhere in the world. It is characterised by migration on either side for exploiting economic opportunities. It is comparable, neither with migration of Tamils to Sri Lanka, nor with that of Bangladeshis to India. It is shameful to report in a newspaper of international repute like The Telegraph that Sri Lanka-type of situation is cropping up in the Terai, and that the visit of ex-Prime Minister K.N. Bista to China as seeking some kind of an assurance that the Chinese authorities would exert a countervailing pressure if India intervened in the event of ethnic trouble in the Terai region (The Telegraph, October 2, 1983). Such a baseless report by the newspapers might do incalculable damage to Indo-Nepal relations. Whatever might have been the origin of Nepalese nationals in Nepal, they are true citizens of Nepal, and Nepalese nationals of different origins in India are likewise true citizens of India. The problem of people in a country is the internal problem of that country. So far as the territorial integrity of both the countries are

concerned, neither will India support the secessionist movement of the Terai people, nor will Nepal support the secessionist movement of the Nepalese in India.

Conclusion

The geography of the Indian sub-continent has a considerable bearing on the large-scale movement of population between India and Nepal since time immemorial, and the impact of this movement on cultural development of Nepal in particular has been far-reaching. The hordes of migrants have completely modified the culture of the tribal people at many places and at the same time the immigrants have adopted several culture traits of the indigenous people. When Nepal felt the necessity of a super tribal culture, she borrowed foreign traditions from the Hindu and the Tibetan mode of life, which have penetrated into landlocked areas through the Siwalik and the Great Himalaya. In fact, these two great cultures have been the forces which have eroded or acculturated the indigenous tribal cultures in Nepal (Kawakita, 1957). Nepal's position as an entrepot between India and China has played an important role in the introduction of the Hindu culture and the Tibetan culture in Nepal. Historically, when Nepal lost its entrepot position after the occupation of India by the British and the discovery of the Chumbi valley route, Nepal was compelled to have a greater degree of socio-economic relations with India. The movement of people, goods and cultures between Nepal and India has been taking place without any hitch and hindrance. As Mr. K.N. Sharma, staff reporter of The Times of India remarks, "The relation between India and Nepal are not the handiwork of treaties or agreement but natural. Both the countries are bound by a common geography, history and heritage of religion and culture. Whether the governments agree on particular clauses of a treaty or disagree on the economic relations, the relation between the peoples of India and Nepal continue perennially unaffected" (Sharma, 1970:2).

In order to ensure the unrestricted migration of Nepalese hill people for recruitment in the Indian army and an unrestricted flow of raw materials from Nepal for industries in India, the British kept the Indo-Nepal border open between the people of both countries. India after independence maintained the status quo of the open border and reinforced and formalised the movement of people and goods by the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950. To sum up, the movement of population, and economic and political relations between Nepal and India are bilateral issues. However, both the governments have been responsible for adopting unilateral approaches to the issues of mutual interest of Nepal and India. It is not possible to find solutions to bilateral issues through unilateral action on the part of either country. The policy of Nepalese government to control immigration (from India) without realising the problem of emigration of Nepalese to India is an instance in point. Similarly, the resentment against the Nepalese and the Indians of Nepalese origin in the north-eastern India, and the restriction imposed by the Indian government in the movement of Nepalese in Sikkim State and Darjeeling district, are also examples of unilateral approach

towards bilateral issues. Because of such actions, friendly relations between the two countries at times have been marred at the governmental level as well as public level by occasional misunderstandings. Recent incidents in the north-eastern States of India are just one illustration of such misunderstandings. The assurance of the Indian Prime Minister and of the Home Minister to the delegation of the North-Eastern Nepalese United Front that the government would ensure their interest and of other minorities in the north-eastern region (The Times of India, November 5, 1980) and the similar assurance by the Nepalese Home Minister to a delegation of Nepal Chamber of Commerce regarding Indian immigrants and Nepalese of Indian origin (The Gorkhapatra, September 24, 1980) have been helpful in erasing the misunderstandings. They indicated attempts towards an amicable solution to these bilateral issues, rather than indulging in recriminatory debates. Those instigating xenophobia in India forget the contribution of the Gurkhas as a spread-head of Indian national defence, while those against Indians in Nepal forget the contribution of India in providing employment to the Nepalese in India. In order to erase the xenophobia towards each other, it is essential that Nepal and India should make a proper assessment of Indo-Nepal migration to understand its diverse problems and prospects, to control the unhealthy aspect of migration which will have adverse effects on demographic, economic, political and cultural development of the two countries. Migration between the two countries for employment opportunities is indicative of both countries' inability in generating suitable employment for their respective people. The growing nativist attitude is, not only confined to each country, but also extended within regions of the countries. With the ever growing sense of "the sons of the soil", the export of poverty and unemployment between Nepal and India will not be possible within foreseeable future.

The spatial characteristic in terms of distribution of migrants between India and Nepal is distinctly different. Nepalese migrants in India is marked by dispersal in different parts of a huge country like India which is 22 times larger in land-area and 45 times larger in population size than Nepal. On the other hand, Indian immigrants are marked by their concentration in the Terai region of a small country like Nepal. The political implications of such concentration in the Terai are apparent. The concern of the politicians in power is confined to ballot papers rather than national interest and national integration. The incidents in the Assam State of India and the continuing agitation against the Bangladeshi immigrants by the local population are glaring examples of public resentment against the party in power's interest in ballot papers rather than the interest of the local population. Had the Bangladeshi immigrants been dispersed over different parts of India, there would have been no Assam agitation in India. The indifferent attitude of the Bangladesh government in solving this problem compelled India to fence with barbed wire the entire length of the Indo-Bangladesh border in the interest of the Assamese and India. The continued unrestricted movement of the Indian immigrants and their concentration in the Terai, and the resulting political risk might give rise to an Assam-like agitation in Nepal unless Nepal and India think over this issue seriously.

India and Nepal should be always cautious and watchful in preventing the cordiality and friendliness of Indo-Nepal relations turning into hostility. It is rather unwise to set aside the Indo-Nepal migration and related issues as sensitive, and the economic, political and social price of procrastinating Indo-Nepal migration issue will be high. Indo-Nepal migration is a bilateral issue; there is no solution to it through unilateral action. Therefore, the need for bilateral approach to deal with problems arising from and contributing to Indo-Nepal migration at government and academic levels by both countries is urgent.

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‘मौद्रिक परम्परा र केही नेपाली माटोका मुद्रा’

रमेश ढुङ्गेल

ने.र.अ. केन्द्र

मानव उत्पत्ति र विकासको साथ-साथै जव-जव मानिस स्वावलम्बको त्यस धुरीलाई नाघेर अगाडि बढ्न शुरू गर्‍यो, त्यसै समयदेखि साधारणतया मानव जातिको व्यावसायिक पदार्थको जन्म भयो भन्ने कुरामा मतभेद हुन सक्दैन । यस पूर्वविस्थामा प्रथमतः मानिसले विनिमयको माध्यमको रूपमा वस्तुमुद्रा (Commodity Money) लाई नै प्रचलनमा ल्यायो। यस पश्चात् यसै क्रमले सामाजिक अर्थतन्त्रको जति-जति विकास हुँदै आयो, उति-उति यस किसिमको वस्तु विनिमयमा कठिनाइहरू बढ्दै गए । जनसंख्या वृद्धिको कारणले आवास क्षेत्रको विस्तार हुँदै गयो, यही विस्तार प्रक्रियाको छिटोपनले गर्दा नै मानिसलाई वस्तुविनिमयमा कठिनाइको पर्खाल अगाडि उम्याइदियो; फलतः मौलिक अर्थव्यवस्थाको प्रादुर्भाव भयो^१ ।

मानव समाजको पूर्वविस्थामा ढुङ्गा, माटो, ढाला, कौडी, हाड आदि वस्तुहरू पनि विनिमयका माध्यमको रूपमा प्रयोग भएको कुराको पनि उल्लेख पाइन्छ^२। वैदिक कालमा आरर ‘हिरण्य’; निष्कः आदिलाई विनिमयका माध्यमको रूपमा प्रयोग भएको कुरा तात्कालिक ग्रन्थ-हल्वाट स्पष्ट हुन आएको छ^३। यसरी नै विस्तार-विस्तार अन्य चाँदी, तामा आदि धातु पनि विनिमयका माध्यमको परिपूर्तिको लागि मुद्राको रूपमा प्रयोग हुन थाल्यो । नेपालमा पनि मौद्रिक अर्थव्यवस्थाको शुरूआत प्राचीन कालदेखि नै भएको कुरा इतिहासले प्रष्ट्याएको छ । मुद्राको प्रचलनमा नेपालमै मौलिक रूपमा मुद्रा निर्माण गरेर प्रयोग गरिएको पहिलो तथ्य हामीलाई ‘मानाङ्क’ मुद्राको प्राप्तिले मात्र दिन्छ तापनि नेपालमा वाणिज्य व्यापार र अन्य विनिमय सम्बन्धी प्रक्रियाको लागि मुद्राको प्रयोग चाहिँ नेपालको हालसम्म प्राप्त अभिलेखको आधारमा प्रामाणिक इतिहासकालभन्दा फण्डे फण्डे १००० वर्ष पहिले अर्थात् पाँचौ शताब्दी ईशापूर्वदेखि नै भएको बुझिन्छ । यस तर्कलाई पुष्टि गर्ने २ थरी प्रमाणहरू हामी अगाडि छन् । प्रथम प्रमाणको रूपमा यस लेखका लेखकले अनुसन्धान क्रममा काल्माडौँ गौशाला नगर प्राप्त गरेका २ वटा प्राचीन भारतीय आहत मुद्रा (Punch Marked Coin) लाई लिन सकिन्छ^४। जुन मुद्राहरू नेपाल-भारतको बीचको प्राचीन धार्मिक वा व्यापारीक सम्बन्धले यहाँ भित्रिएको हुनुपर्दछ । यस विषयमा केही विस्तृत चर्चा ‘नेपालमा आहत मुद्राको प्राप्ति, इतिहासमा नयाँ आयाम’ विषयको लेखकको लेखमा गरिएको छ^५। यसरी नेपाल-भारत बीचको प्राचीन सम्बन्धले गर्दा र नेपालमा मुद्रा प्रसारणको आवश्यकता कम हुनुले जे जति रूपमा चलनचल्तीमा थिए, तिनै प्राचीन भारतीय मुद्राहरू नेपालमा चलेको हुनुपर्दछ । किनकि त्यस

समयका सास गरी 'आहत' मुद्रा धातु र तौलको स्तरीयताको आधारमा चल्ने हुनाले जुनसुकै निकटवर्ती, राज्य तथा संस्थाहरूले त्यसलाई स्वीकार्न कुनै सन्देह लिनु पर्दैनथ्यो । त्यस्तै गरेर दोस्रो प्रमाणको रूपमा हाम्रो अगाडि प्राचीन ग्रन्थ कौटिल्यको अर्थशास्त्र रहेको छ । यस ग्रन्थमा नेपाल शब्द र यहाँका राडी पासी र त्यसको व्यापार विषयमा चर्चा गरेको छ^६ । कौटिल्यको अर्थशास्त्रको प्राचीनतालाई विद्वान्हरू चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्यको समय अर्थात् चौथो शताब्दी ईशापूर्वसम्म पु-याउँछन् । यस आधारमा अध्ययन गर्दा नेपालको व्यापार ईशापूर्व चौथो शताब्दी देखिनै भारतीय क्षेत्रसम्म विस्तार भएको कुरा उल्लेख गर्न सकिन्छ । यस समयसम्मको विस्तार भइसकेको व्यापारको थालनी कम्मा पनि १०० वर्ष अगाडिदेखिनै शुरू भएको हुनुपर्दछ । यसरी कौटिल्यको अर्थशास्त्रको समयभन्दा करीव १०० वर्ष पहिले अर्थात् ईशापूर्व पाँचौ शताब्दी तिर नेपाल भारत बीच हुने व्यापारको माध्यमबाट त्यहाँ प्रचलित मुद्राहरू नेपालमा पनि थोरै बहुत प्रचलनमा हुनु निकै सम्भावना देखिन्छ । विद्वान्हरू भारतीय आहत मुद्राको प्रसारण कालको विषयमा चर्चा गर्दा मौर्य साम्राज्यको शुरू अवस्थातिरनै आहत मुद्राको प्रसारणमा कमी आउन थालिसकेको विषयमा चर्चा गर्दछन्^७ । त्यसैले 'आहत' मुद्रा नेपालमा मौर्य साम्राज्य काल वा सोभन्दा केही अगाडिनै भित्रिएको कुरा स्वीकार्न सकिन्छ । यसरी नेपालको मौद्रिक इतिहासमा सर्वप्रथम प्राचीन भारतीय आहत मुद्रा देखिनुको मुख्य कारण मगधसमेत भारतीय महाजनपद युगका विभिन्न जनपदहरूसँग नेपालको सम्बन्ध हुनु हो । विभिन्न जनपदवासीहरूमध्येका वृजिक जस्ता जातिको विषयमा त नेपालका प्राचीन अभिलेखमा उल्लेख नै पाइन्छ^८ । यस आधारमा प्राचीन भारतीय जनपदवासीहरू नै पनि त्यही समय वा केही समयपछि यस क्षेत्रमा प्रवेश गरेको बुझिन्छ । यसले गर्दा पनि ती प्राचीन मुद्राहरू केही न केही रूपमा यहाँ आएको हुनु सम्भव छ ।

यसपछि पनि व्यापार वाणिज्यको माध्यमको रूपमा भारतीय प्राचीन मुद्राहरू नेपालमा चल्दैरहेको कुरा पुरातात्विक प्रमाणहरूले पुष्टि गरेका छन् । जसमध्ये आहत मुद्रा पछि दोस्रो स्थान कुशाण मुद्राले लिन्छन् । कपिलवस्तु क्षेत्रको उत्सननबाट प्राप्त भएका ईशापूर्व दोस्रो शताब्दीदेखि ईशाको दोस्रो शताब्दीसम्मका विभिन्न मुद्राहरूबाट व्यापारीक सम्बन्ध र मुद्रा प्रचलन विनियमको माध्यमको रूपमा त्यस समयमा पनि कायम रहेको कुरा स्पष्ट हुन आएको छ^९ । यसका अलावा यस सिलसिलामा श्री ५ महेन्द्रको यात्रामा लुम्बिनीबाट प्राप्त भएका अनुमानतः ईशापूर्वका केहीमुद्रा उपहारस्वरूप चढाइएको र उपर्युक्त मुद्राहरू मुद्रा-संग्रहालयमा सुरक्षित रहेको कुराको उल्लेख पनि निकै महत्वपूर्ण मानिन्छ^{१०} । यस्तै गरेर काठमाडौँमा पनि कुशाणकालीन मुद्राको प्राप्ति भएको कुराले उपर्युक्त विषयमा अरु पुष्टि मिल्न गएको छ ।

लिच्छविराजा मानदेवले चलाएको 'मानाडू' मुद्राको प्रादुर्भावदेखि लातार करीव ४ शताब्दीसम्म मौलिक रूपमा मुद्रा निर्माण गरी विनियमको माध्यमको रूपमा तामाका मुद्रा प्रयोग भएको कुरा तात्कालिक मुद्राहरूको प्राप्ति र अभिलेखहरूबाट समेत स्पष्ट हुन आएको छ ।

यी लिच्छवि राजाहरूले शुरू गरेको मौद्रिक परम्पराले नै नेपालको मौद्रिक इतिहासमा वास्तव-
मा प्रथम स्थान लिइको छ । हुनत माथि उल्लेख गरिए वमोजिम यहाको आफ्नो मौद्रिक
परम्परा शुरू हुनु भन्दा अगाडि विदेशी (प्राचीन भारतीय) मुद्राले पनि विभिन्नयको काम
नगरेको होइन, साथै यहाको आफ्नै मौद्रिक परम्परा शुरू भइसकेपछि पनि भारतीय सिक्काहरू
विभिन्नयमा यहा चल्दै नचलेका पनि होइनन् । तै पनि नेपाली मुद्राको इतिहासमा यी मुद्राले
पहिलो स्थान लिनुको साथै तात्कालिक व्यापार-वाणिज्य समेत राष्ट्रिय अर्थतन्त्रमा निकै मह-
त्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाएको कुरामा भने दुइमत हुन सक्दैन । लिच्छविहरूले प्रचलन्मा ल्याएको
यो मौद्रिक व्यवस्था र परम्परा 'पशुपति' मुद्रामा आएर टुटेको देखिन्छ । हुनत नवौं शताब्दी-
देखि पछिका केही शताब्दीहरू ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिकोणले केही अस्पष्ट नै देखिन्छन् । तर विगत
केही वर्ष यता यस युगका पनि केही पदालाई प्रकाश पार्ने सामग्रीहरू प्रकाशित हुँदै गरेको
देखिन्छन् । यस कालमा 'शिवका' दम्प 'दाम' रूप्यदम्प' आदि मुद्रासँग सम्बद्ध नामहरू
प्रयोग भएका अभिलेखहरू प्राप्त भएका छन्^{११} । तापनि यी सब मुद्रानै हुन् भनेर निश्चयसाथ
किटान गर्न सकिने आधार अहिलेसम्म मिल्न सकेको छैन । यसै परिप्रेक्ष्यमा हालसालै शिवदेवले
प्रचलन्मा ल्याएका भनिने चांदीको दम्प 'मुद्रा' प्राप्त भएको सवर काफिरको विषयलाई
वर्णन सकिन्छ^{१२} । यदि यो कुरा सत्य भएमा नेपाली मुद्राको इतिहासमा यसको ठूलो स्थान
रहने कुरामा विकल्प उत्पन्न सक्दैन । यस्तै गरेर 'शिवका' भन्न सकिने स्वर्ण मुद्रा पनि भेटिए-
को चर्चा सुन्नामा आएको हो तर कहीं अधिकारीक रूपमा प्रकाशमा आएको बुझिएको छैन ।
यसवाहेक यसकालका कुनै पनि धातुकामुद्राहरू प्राप्त हुन सकेको छैन ।

यस पश्चात् नेपालको इतिहासमा मुद्रा टक्करी गराइ प्रचलन्मा ल्याउने प्रथम राजा को
हुन् ? भन्ने विषयमा चर्चा गर्दा इतिहासकार तथा मुद्रा शास्त्रीहरू कान्तिपुरका महेन्द्रमल्लको
नाम लिने गर्दथे । तर दोलखाका राजा इन्द्रसिंह देवको चांदीको मुद्राको प्राप्ति^{१३} र इन्द्रसिंह
देवको कालनिर्णय भइ सकेपछि माथि उल्लेख गरिएको रायमा परिवर्तन आएको छ । अभिलेखको
आधारमा गरिएको काल निर्णय अनुसार इन्द्रसिंह देवको अन्तिम अभिलेख ६६८ ने.सं. को
हो^{१४} यता महेन्द्रमल्लको शासन काल शुरूआत ६८० ने.सं. देखि भएर ६९४ ने.सं. मा उनको
मृत्यु भएको तथ्य पाइएको छ^{१५} । यस आधारमा अध्ययन गर्दा दोलखाका राजा इन्द्रसिंह
नै महेन्द्रमल्ल भन्दा पहिले नेपालमा चांदीको मुद्रा टक्करी गराई प्रचलन्मा ल्याउने ठहर्दछन् ।
यो तथ्य त चांदीको मुद्राको भयो । यसभन्दा अगाडि अर्थात् प्राचीनकालका तामाका मुद्रा
पछि यतिलामो अवधिसम्म नेपालमा कुनै मुद्रा प्रसारित भएका थिएनन् त ? भन्ने प्रश्न हाम्रो
अगाडि आउछ । नेपालको मौद्रिक परम्परा र मुद्रा विषयका अनुसन्धाताहरूले अहिलेसम्मका
कृतिहरूमा प्राचीन मुद्राको क्रम पशुपति मुद्रामा आएर टुडिपछि एकैचोटी मल्लकालिक
नेपालका महेन्द्रमल्लले चांदीको मुद्रा टक्करी गराई प्रचलन्मा ल्याएका हुन् भन्ने विचार व्यक्त

गरेका छन् । यसवाहेक माथि उल्लेख गरिएको इन्द्रसिंहको मुद्रा प्राप्ति र काल निर्णय पछि महेन्द्रमल्लबाट सरेर इन्द्रसिंहमा कुरा पुगी टुडिङ्गएको छ । प्राचीन मौद्रिक परम्पराको क्रम टुडिङ्गपछि अर्थात् पशुपतिमुद्रा पछि पछिल्लो मल्लकालसम्म भारतको केन्द्रीय सरकारले प्रसारण-मा ल्याएको मुद्राले विनियमको माध्यमको काम गरेको कुरा पनि इतिहासकारहरूले व्यक्त गरेका छन्^{१६}। तर यस विचारधारामा पनि पुनर्विचार गर्नु पर्ने अवस्था अहिले आएको छ । एकातिर वंशावलीमा कान्तिपुरका राजा रत्नमल्लले सुकी टक मार्न काडेर तामाखानीबाट तामा ल्याई पैसाका मुद्रा पनि बनाई प्रचलनमा ल्याए भन्ने कुराको उल्लेख परेको छ^{१७}। भने अर्कोतिर पूर्व मध्यकालमा प्रचलित भनिने 'द्रुम्मे' 'शिवका' जस्ता नेपाली मुद्राहरू प्राप्त भएको सवरहरू आइरहेका छन्^{१८}। साथसाथै पूर्व मध्यकाल र मध्यकालमा प्रसारण गरिएका माटोका मुद्राको विषयमा पनि निर्णय गर्नु पर्ने अवस्था छैदछ ।

माथि उल्लेख गरिएको वंशावलीको कुरालाई स्वीकार गर्दा रत्नमल्ल भन्दा अगाडिनै सुकी आदि मुद्राहरू प्रचलनमा भएको कुरा बुझिन्छ । यस आधारमा विचार गर्दा यहाँनिर के निष्कर्ष निकाल्न सकिन्छ भने, रत्नमल्ल भन्दा अगाडि अर्थात् मध्यकालको शुरू अवस्था देखिनै संभवतः चाँदीका सुकी आदि मुद्राहरू टकमरी गराई प्रसारण गर्ने परंपरा नेपालमा छैद थियो तर प्रसारणको परिमाणमा कमी हुंदो हो । यो कुरा लिखित स्रोत र मुद्राको प्राप्तिले पनि अब प्रष्टिन शुरू भएको छ । यी माथि उल्लेख गरिएका तथ्य र रायहरू नेपालको मौद्रिक इतिहास र परम्पराको विषयका भए । अब आज यस सन्दर्भमा केही नेपाली मौद्रिक परम्परा-को इतिहासमानै उल्लेख गर्न सकिने मुद्राहरूमा केही आफ्नो संग्रहमा भएका मल्लकालिक माटो-का चक्काहरूको विवरण र त्यसवारेको आफ्नो राय प्रस्तुत गर्न उचित ठानेको छु

माटोका मुद्राको विषयमा उल्लेख गरिहाल्नु भन्दा अगाडि सरकारको तर्फबाट विनियमको माध्यमको रूपमा प्रचलनको लागि कुन-कुन वस्तुको प्रयोग हुन सक्दछ भन्ने विषयमा विचार गर्नु उचित हुन्छ । मानवजातिको इतिहासले स्पष्ट पारेको छ कि, मानवसम्यता र संस्कृतिको विकासको साथ-साथै जव-जव धनी व्यापारीहरू र सामन्त वर्गको हातबाट राज्यको अर्थव्यवस्था राज्यले आफै लिन थाल्यो; त्यसै समयदेखि जुनसुकै मौक्तिक वस्तुको रूपमा सर-कारले आफ्नो तर्फबाट कुनै चिन्ह अङ्कित गराएर विनियमको माध्यमको रूपमा मुद्रा प्रचलन-मा ल्याएको देखिन्छ^{१९}। त्यसैले यस परिप्रेक्ष्यमा यही भन्न सकिन्छ कि, अनुकूल हेरी सरकारले जुनसुकै मौक्तिक वस्तुको पनि मुद्रा बनाउन सक्दछ तर यसमा स्थिरता र सर्वमान्यतालाई भने प्रायः ध्यान दिने हुन्छ । जहाँसम्म माटोको मुद्राको कुरा छ धातुको कमी र निर्माणको सरलताको कारणले गर्दा पनि यसको निर्माण र प्रयोग भएको कुरामा बढी सम्भावना देखाउन सकिन्छ ।

माटोका मुद्राको विषयमा हाम्रो मौद्रिक इतिहासमा त्यसि गहन सोजी हुन सकेको हैन भन्नुमा अत्युक्ति हुन्न । अहिलेसम्म प्राप्त भएका मध्ये पहिला मानदेवको लुम्बिनीवाट प्राप्त चक्कालाई मान्न सकिन्छ; जसलाई केशर बहादुर के.सी.ले उल्लेख गर्नु भएको छ^{१०} । यस कुरालाई मनन गर्दा हाम्रो धातु र माटो दुवैका मुद्राको इतिहास एकैपटक शुरू भएको हो भनी भन्नुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । उपर्युक्त तथ्य हाम्रो अगाडि आस्तापनि उक्त माटोको चक्कालाई माटोको मुद्रा नै हो भनी स्वीकार्न हामीलाई पुष्टि गर्ने अन्य प्रमाण समेत त्यसको वास्तविक अध्ययन गर्नु पर्ने हुन्छ । कतिपय माटोका चक्काहरू धार्मिक भावनाले प्रेरित भएर र अन्य विविध कार्यको लागि पनि निर्माण गरिएको बुझिन्छ^{११} । चावहिलको स्तूप भएकै स्थानमा प्राप्त भएको 'येधमा' हेतु प्रभा भन्ने बुद्धधर्म सम्बन्धी श्लोक उल्लेख भएको स्तूप चित्राडिङ्कत माटोको चक्का यस लेखको लेखकको संग्रहमा पनि भएको र जुम्लाको गुफा तथा अन्यत्र पनि समय समयमा कुटिला लिपिमा यस्तो श्लोक छापिएका माटोका चक्काहरू प्राप्त भएका प्रमाणहरू मिल्दछन् र मिलिरहेकै छन् । यस्तै गरेर यस लेखकको संग्रहमा अर्को एक कुटिला लिपिमा 'शिवस्य' अभिलेख सहितको त्रिशूल चित्राडिङ्कत माटोको सानो चक्का पनि हालसालै प्राप्त भएको छ । यस्तै किसिमको चित्र अडिङ्कत भएको धातुको (तामा) वृण अभिलेख भएका मुद्राहरू पनि लिच्छवि-कालिक नेपालमा चलेको बुझिएको छ । केशर बहादुर के.सी.ले अंग्रेजी वर्णमालाको 'डब्ल्यू' चित्र भनी यसलाई मान्नु भएको छ । उपर्युक्त कुराले धातु जस्तै माटोको पनि मुद्रा निर्माण गर्ने परम्परा त्यस समयमा थियो कि ? भन्ने तर्फ अनुसन्धाताहरूको ध्यानाकर्षण हुन्छ । तर माथि उल्लेख गरिएका दुवै माटोका चक्कामा एकपट्टि अर्थात् अग्र भागमा मात्र चित्र; लिपि अडिङ्कत भएको देखिन्छ । जस्तो त्रिशूल चित्र भएको चक्कामा अग्र र पृष्ठ दुवैभागमा चित्र र अभिलेख नभएर एकभागमा मात्र 'शिवस्य' अभिलेख र त्रिशूल चित्र अडिङ्कत भएको छ । यस किसिमले एक तर्फ अर्थात् अग्रभागमा मात्र चित्र तथा लिपि छापिएका र वनावटमा पनि केही भद्दापन देखिने किसिमका माटोका चक्कालाई माटोका मुद्रानै भनेर भन्न सकिन्न । यस्ता चक्काहरू साँस गरी धार्मिक भावनाले प्रेरित भएर नै कुनै धार्मिक मन्त्र, चिन्ह आदिको छाप राखी बनाएर चढाउने गरिएको कुरामा वढी विश्वास राख्न सकिन्छ । यस कुराको प्रमाणका लागि अहिलेसम्म प्रचलनमा रहेको बुद्धधर्मका अनुयायीहरूको चलनलाई लिन सकिन्छ । महायान संप्रदायका र तिब्बती बुद्धधर्मका अनुयायी दुवैथरीले अहिले पनि चैत्य स्तूप कोर्तेन आदि बनाउदा त्यस भित्र विभिन्न मंत्रहरू बुद्धधर्मसंग सम्बद्ध देवी-देवताहरू, ठूल-ठूला लामाका मूर्तिहरूका समेत छाप र स-साना चैत्यहरूले पनि बनाई भित्र राखी चैत्य निर्माण गर्ने गर्दछन् । तिब्बती र त्यस उत्पत्तिका हिमाल्वासीहरूले यस्ता साना छाप र चैत्यहरूलाई छा-छा भन्दछन् ।

यसरी उपर्युक्त किसिमका माटोका चक्कालाई मुद्रामान्न ठोस आधार नभएपछि मुद्रा-संग्रहालयमा 'माटोको मुद्रा' शीर्षकमा राखिएका माटोका चक्काको विषयमा विचार गर्नु आवश्यक हुन्छ । त्यहाँ विभिन्न किसिमका माटोका चक्काको साथ-साथै 'रूप वम' लेखिए-को र मथसिं णसियाको माटोको चक्का संकलनमा भएको कुरा उल्लेख छ^{२२} । माटोका मुद्राको विषयमा उल्लेख गर्दै विभिन्न विद्वान्हरूले भिन्ना-भिन्नै राय पेश गरेको पाइन्छ । डा. ज्ञा-दीश चन्द्र रेग्मीको विचारमा माथि उल्लेखित 'रूपवम' अङ्कित माटोको चक्का सरकारी अधिकारीको छाप वाहेक अरु केही होइन^{२३} । त्यस्तै सूर्यविभक्तम ज्ञवालीले सोपासीको अभिलेखमा उल्लेखित '५० सेता मृत्तिका'^{२४} को आधारमा ५० सेता मृत्तिका भन्नेको सेता माटोका पोलैका मुद्रा हुन सम्भव छ भनी उल्लेख गर्नु भएको तर्कलाई पनि रेग्मीज्यूले स्वीकार्नु भएको छैन^{२५} । यसै सन्दर्भमा रेग्मीज्यूको अर्को विचार पनि यहाँ उल्लेख गर्न उचित हुन्छ । उहाँको विचार-मा 'माटोको पैसामा यसको अस्थायी स्वरूप र मूल्यविहीन साथै उत्तरदायित्व (Security) नहुने हुनाले यो कहिले पनि अर्थव्यवस्थामा विनिमयको माध्यम हुन सक्दैन'^{२६} । यस विषयमा उहाँको 'सरकारी अधिकारीको छाप' भन्ने राय चाहिँ माटोको चक्काको एकापट्टिमात्र लि-पि चित्र आदि उल्लेख भएको कारणले र भोजपत्र आदिमा कालो नरम माटो राखेर रजिष्ट्र-शन आदि कार्यहरूमा सरकारी अधिकारीको छाप लगाउने प्रचलन भएको कारण नै भन्ने बुझि-न्छ^{२७} ।

अब अर्कोतर्फ डा. हितनारायण फाले भन्ने मृत्तिकालाई मुद्राकै रूपमा स्वीकार्नु भएको पाइन्छ^{२८} । यहाँनिर फाज्यूले अभिलेख संग्रह-१ को पृ. ३७ मा उल्लेखित 'पुराण ८० मृत्तिका'^{२९} भन्ने अभिलेखको पाठको आधारमा पुराण मुद्रा भएको र मृत्तिकाको त्यसै सन्दर्भमा उल्लेख भएवाट मृत्तिका पुराण भन्दा सानुङ्काइको मुद्रा मान्न सोज्नु भएको जस्तो बुझिन्छ । वास्तवमा अभिलेखमा 'पुराण र मृत्तिका'को प्रयोग भएको स्थितिको आधारमा फाज्यूको विचारलाई धेरै हदसम्म स्वीकार गर्न सकिन्छ । तर अन्य विद्वान्हरूले 'पुराण' पछि प्रयोग भएको 'मृत्तिका' शब्दले अर्को वेग्लै शब्दसंग सम्बन्ध राख्न सोजेको जस्तो गरी अनुमान गर्दै अभिलेखको अनुवाद गरेको पनि पाइन्छ^{३०} । अभिलेखको 'पुराण ८० मृत्तिका' भन्ने भाग पछिका अक्षरहरू नदेखिने भएकोले यो स्थिति पैदा भएको हो^{३१} । तर अभिलेखमा पुराण ८० मृत्तिका शब्द पछि केही शब्दहरू पाठ गर्न नसकिने गरी नष्ट भएका छन् तर फेरि... का ५ पणपुराण ६० आदि शब्द उल्लेखित छन् । अभिलेखमा यसरी अगाडिवाट मन्दिरको (भा-वान् लोकपाल स्वामीको) विभिन्न सेवा कार्य गर्नेहरूलाई निश्चित परिमाणमा अन्न (धान) कुट्याइएको सिलसिलामा देवदासलाई १२० पुराण, दासीहरूलाई ८० पुराण र मृत्तिका र केही शब्द भेटिएपछि फेरि ६० पणपुराण आंगन सफासुधर गर्न र फेरि केही शब्द भेटिएर निश्चित कार्यको लागि चामलको परिमाण तोकी कुट्याइएवाट रकमको सिलसिलामा आएको मृत्तिका शब्दले पनि कुनै न कुनै रकमको परिमाणकै काम गरेको बुझिन्छ । यस आधारमा

यहाँ उल्लेखित मृत्तिका माटोको मुद्रा हुन सक्दछ/ जुन पुराण भन्दा सानु इकाइ अफ पणपुराण भन्दा पनि सानु इकाइ हुन सम्भव छ ।

यसरीनै सोपासीको अभिलेखमा उल्लेख भएको मृत्तिकाको विषयमात माथिनै पनि उल्लेख गरिसकिएको छ । यसलाई फाज्यूले *Fifty Pieces of Full Silver Coins for Each Villager* अर्थात् प्रत्येक गाउँलेलाई ५० शुद्ध चाँदीका पैसा मनी उल्लेख गर्नु भएको छ^{३२}। यसै क्रममा सत्यमोहन जोशीको विचार पनि यहाँ उल्लेख गर्नु उचित हुन्छ । उहाँले माटोको क्वापलाई आंशिक रूपमा मुद्रा मनी स्वीकार्नु भएको पाइन्छ र उहाँको विचारमा यस्ता माटोका चक्काहरू कम मूल्यका टोकन मुद्रा भएको र यसको उदाहरणको लागि भूपवर्मा (रूपवर्मा) र सिद्धिनरसिंहका माटोका क्वाप चक्काहरू देखाउनु भएको छ^{३३}। यस्तै गरी माटोको मुद्रा शीर्षकमा १३ वटा क्रमको पनि उल्लेख जोशीज्यूले गर्नु भएको छ^{३४}। तर उहाँले क्रममा राखिएका माटोका चक्काहरूमा कुनचाहिँ सास मुद्रा (पैसा) हुन् र कुन-कुन चाहिँ क्वाप मात्र हुन् भन्ने कुरा केलाउने प्रयास भने गर्नु भएको छैन ।

यस परिप्रेक्ष्यमा माटोको मुद्रा अर्थतन्त्रमा विनिमयको माध्यम कुनै हालतमा पनि हुन सक्दैन भन्ने आशय नभरर अवस्था अनुकूल यस्तो हुन पनि सक्दछ भन्ने मेरो धारणा भएको कुरा माथिनै पनि उल्लेख गरिसकिएको छ । जहाँसम्म स्थायित्व (Durability) को प्रश्न छ, आजको कागजी मुद्रालाई पनि उदाहरणको रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ । यसरी निर्माणको सरलता स्थानान्तरणको सरलता हुने हुनाले राज्यमा धातुको कमी भएको सण्डमा यस्ता माटोका मुद्रा पनि विनिमयको रूपमा चलाउन सरकारले सक्दछ भन्ने कुरामा विश्वास राख्न सकिन्छ । अर्को कुरा साना इकाइका मुद्राहरू प्रसारणमा कम हुँदा पनि यस्तो हुन सक्दछ । यस लेखमा उल्लेख गरिनै ३ मल्लकालिक मुद्राहरूलाई दृष्टि दिँदा पनि माटोको मुद्रा होइन भनेर भन्न सकिँदैन । उक्त मुद्राको आकार प्रकार कलाकारीता लिपि आदिको अध्ययनबाट यी मुद्राहरू साधारण क्वापको रूपमा र धार्मिक भावनामा प्रेरित भएर मात्र निर्माण गरियो भनेर भन्न सकिँदैन । त्यसैले उक्त मुद्राहरू कानुनग्राह्य (Legal Tender) मुद्राकै रूपमा प्रयोग भएको हुनुपर्दछ । यद्यपि कुनै मौद्रिक इकाइको आशय यिनमा पाईदैन तापनि कम मूल्यका मुद्राको काम माटोको मुद्राले चलाउने परम्परा भएको कुराको धेरै हदसम्म सम्भावना देखाउन सकिन्छ^{३५}। यसै सिलसिलामा कालाका मुद्रालाई पनि उल्लेख गर्नु पर्ने हुन्छ । सिद्धिनरसिंह मल्लका स्पष्ट क्वाप भएका कालाका मुद्राहरू पनि भेटिएको खबर पाइएको छ । यदि यो सत्यही भने, माटोका जस्तै कालाका पनि मुद्रा कम इकाइको विनिमयको कार्यको लागि मल्लकालमा प्रसारण भएको थियो भन्ने बुझिन्छ । माटोका यस्ता मुद्रालाई कसैकसैले धार्मिक भावनाले निर्माण गरिएका भन्ने रायको पनि कालाका मुद्राको प्राप्तिले सण्डन गर्दछ । किनकि कालाका त्यस्ता चक्का (टुक्का)हरू देवतालाई चढाउने त कुरै भएन र यो परम्परा अद्यावधि हामीकहाँ छँदैछ । हुन्छ मल्लकालिक र त्यस भन्दा अगाडिका प्राचीन मुद्राहरूमै पनि स्पष्ट रूपमा इकाइ सौलिकी कहीं पाइन्छ र ? अवश्य

७८ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मील ११, नं. २ (अप्रिल १९८४)

पाईदेन । तर त्यस समयसम्म परम्परागत तौल र धातुको गुणको आधारमा मूल्य निर्धारण गरिने परम्परा चलिरहेको कुरामा द्विविधा उत्पन्न हुन सक्दैन; जुनकुरा माटोको मुद्रामा लागू हुन सक्दैन । किनकि, धातुको स्तरता (Metal Standard) भन्ने सवालै माटोको मुद्रामा भएन ।

यस लेखका प्रासङ्गिक माटोका मुद्राहरू निम्न छन्:-

१. पाटनका राजा सिद्धिनरसिंहको माटोको मुद्रा^{३६}

यस मुद्राको अग्रभागमा 'श्री श्री सिद्धि' र त्यसको वरिपरि धर्को र साना थोप्लाहरू छन् । पृष्ठ भागमा माथिल्लोपट्टि केही अस्पष्ट बुट्टाको साथमा दायाँसुटो उठाएको सिंह र तल नेवारी लिपिमा ७७४ अड्क अडिक्कत छ । वरिपरि थोप्ला र धर्को देखिन्छ र यी केही पातलो छ । यी मुद्रा सानु गौचरको ठीक पछाडि मालीगाउँमा जग सन्दा प्राप्त भएको कुरा बुझिएको छ ।

२. सिद्धिनरसिंहकै पहिलो भन्दा सानो माटोको मुद्रा

यो मुद्राको आकार सानो भएता पनि यसको मोटाइ केही बाक्लो छ । यो ६ चौसा परेको छ र मोटाईको ६ वटै पाटामा फूलबुट्टावाट शुरू भएर कुट्टा-कुट्टे एक एक अक्षर गरेर 'सिद्धिनरसि' नेवारी लिपिमा अडिक्कत छ । अग्रभागमा वरिपरि थोप्ला र कुनै धर्कोको बीचमा वज्रको चिह्न र 'इन्द्राणी' भन्ने नेवारी लिपिमा अडिक्कत छ । वज्रको चिह्न भन्दा माथि त्रिशूलको रूपमा पनि देखिन्छ । पृष्ठ भागमा माथिल्लो पट्टि अस्पष्ट बुट्टा र तेस्रो धर्को मुनि यसमा पनि नेवारी लिपिमा ७७४ अड्क अडिक्कत छ; जुन ७७४ नेपाल संवत् हो । यी मुद्रा पक्लीघाटको पारिपट्टि 'राजतीर्थ' भन्ने स्थानमा प्राप्त भएको हो ।

३. पाटनका राजा विष्णु मल्लको माटोको मुद्रा

यो मुद्रामा मौद्रिक गुण अझ बढी पाइन्छ । किनकि विष्णु मल्लकै चाँदीको मुद्रामा भएको छाप यस मुद्राको दुवै अग्र र पृष्ठ भागमा पाइन्छ र यसको आकार पनि केही ठूलो छ । यसको मोटाइ त्यसै पातलो पनि छैन र त्यसै बाक्लो पनि । यसमा वरिपरि ८ चौसा छन् र मोटाइ वरिपरि साधारण फूलबुट्टा अडिक्कत छन् । मुद्राको अग्र भागमा 'श्री श्री' धर्को माथि र बीचमा 'जय विष्णु मल्ल देव' साथै त्रिशूलको चिह्न अडिक्कत छ र धर्को मुनि सबभन्दा तल अन्य मल्लकालीन चाँदीमुद्रामा जस्तै गरेर ८५७ अड्क अडिक्कत छ जुन ने.सं. ८५७ हो । पृष्ठ भागमा वरिपरि आठकुने घेरा बाहिर श्री श्री योग नरेन्द्र मल्ल देव र घेरा भित्र 'श्री श्री श्री लोकनाथ' र बीचमा सङ्ग चिह्न अडिक्कत भएको देखिन्छ । यसको लिपि पनि नेवारी नै छ । यी मुद्रा देउपाटन दक्षिणामूर्ति भन्दा दक्षिण पाटोमा लल्लेश्वर (जुन पहिले पुर्खिर रहेको थियो) को स्थानमा प्राप्त भएको हो ।

उपर्युक्त मुद्राहरूमा देखिएका विशेषताहरूको अध्ययन गर्दा प्रायः धातुमुद्रामा मिल्दा-जुल्दा देखिन्छन् । सिद्धिनरसिंह मल्लको सिंह अङ्कित भएका अन्य प्रमाणहरू पनि पाइएका छन् । त्यस्तै विष्णुमल्लको र अन्य पाटनका राजाहरूका चाँदीकै मुद्रामा पनि श्री श्री श्री लोकनाथ, कल्याणमय साथै वरिपरि योग नरेन्द्र मल्ल साथै सङ्ग अङ्कित गर्ने परम्परा भएको देखिन्छ । तीनवटै मुद्रामा अन्य धातुमुद्रामा जस्तै स्पष्टरूपमा तल संबत् अङ्कित भएको देखिन्छ । यस कुराबाट मुद्रा संग्रहालयमा 'रूपवर्मा' र 'मथसि' णसियाको भन्दा ऐतिहासिक प्रामाणिकता मुद्राको रूपमा वढी यी मुद्रामा मिलेको छ । मथसि णसियाको माटोको मुद्रामा पनि अग्र र पृष्ठभाग दुवैतर्फ वुट्टा र लिप्यङ्कित भएको हुनाले अफिसरको छाप मात्र हो भन्ने आशय-चाहिँ मिल्दैन तापनि मिति नभएको हुनाले ऐतिहासिक क्रम मिलाउन र वढी प्रामाणिकता पेश गर्न भने यसबाट सकिदैन । वेण्डालको विचारमा प्राचीन मल्ल वंशको अन्त्यतिर, जयस्थिति-मल्लको प्रभुत्व भन्दा अगाडि मथसि णसियाले उपत्यकामा धावा गरी प्रभुत्व जमाएको थियो र यसै समयतिर माटोको मुद्रा प्रचलनमा ल्याएको कथनको आधारमा १३२८ ई.सं. तिर मनी मिति तोक्न कोशिश गरिएको पाइन्छ^{३७} । जे होस्, लिच्छवि भन्दा पछाडि नेपालको मौद्रिक इतिहासमा देखिएको अन्यकारमा यो एक मुद्रा भएपनि नाप, लिपि र कलासम्म बोकेर हाम्रो इतिहासको पानामा उभिन आएको छ ।

यस लेखमा उल्लेख गरिएका मुद्राहरूलाई गहन दृष्टि दिएर हेर्दा यिनमा ज्यादै उच्च-स्तरीय कालीगडी फल्कन्छ र अक्षरहरू पनि प्रायः स्पष्ट छन् । ज्यादै मेहनत र हौशियारी-साथ मुद्रा बनाउने काम भएको कुरामा मुद्रा हेर्नासाथ स्पष्ट हुन्छ । त्यसैले यदि उपर्युक्त मुद्राहरू साधारण छाप र अरू केही त्यस्तै कार्यको लागि मात्र प्रयोग भएको हो भने ठीक धातुमुद्रामा भएकै विशेषताहरू तिनमा किन भए ? साथै निर्माणमा त्यत्रो मेहनत पनि किन? भन्ने प्रश्न हाम्रो अगाडि आउन सक्दछ । तल्लोस्तरीय कलाकारीता र एक भागमा मात्र लिपि, चित्र अङ्कित साथै भद्दा किसिमका छाप चक्का धार्मिक क्रियाकलाप र अन्य विविध कार्यको प्रयोग साथै साधारण टोकनको रूपमा लेन-देनमा चलेको कुरामा वढी संभावना देखिने भन्दा-पनि माथि उल्लेख गरिएका ३ मुद्राहरू चाहिँ समकालीन मौद्रिक विनिमयमा कुनै न कुनै रूपमा प्रयोग भएकै हुनु पर्दछ भन्ने कुरामा वढी विश्वास राख्न सकिन्छ । त्यसैले सन्दोषमा यो नै हुन सक्दछ कि, मल्लकालमा सानु इकाइका मुद्राहरू प्रचलनमा त्यसि नभएको कारणबाट विनिमयको सरलताको लागि सानु इकाइको मुद्राको रूपमा माटोको मुद्राको प्रचलन भएको हुनु पर्दछ ।

हुनत अन्तिम मल्लकालतिर साना इकाइका मुद्राहरू पनि प्रचलनमा देखिए तापनि माथि उल्लेखित राजाहरूको समयमा कम मूल्यका अर्थात् सानु इकाइका मुद्रा भेटिएका छैनन् । यसरी उपर्युक्त नेपाली मुद्राहरूको आधारमा एकातिर नेपाली मुद्राशास्त्रको अध्ययनमा थप द्रोत्र निम्तिरको छ भने, अर्कोतिर मुद्राको प्राप्तिस्थलको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व पनि यसबाट वढ्न गएको छ; जसले अरू गहन खोजी गर्न निर्दिष्ट स्थानको दिशा बोध गराउन पनि सहायोग

८० सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोल्म ११, नं. २ (अप्रिल १९८४)

पुन्याउने कुरामा विश्वास राख्न सकिन्छ । सोजी भएको सण्डमा यस विषयमा अरु वढी जानकारी प्राप्त गर्न सकिने कुरामा दुइमत हुन सक्दैन ।

अब यस विषयमा यी माटोका मुद्राहरूको मौद्रिक इकाइ र यसको समकालीन चाँदीका सिक्कासंगको सम्बन्धको विषयमा साथै यसमा सरकारको तर्फबाट जमानत (Guarantee) को विषयमा उल्लेख भएको कुनै प्रामाणिक अभिलेख प्राप्त गर्न सके मौद्रिक इतिहासमा अरु वढी महत्त्व माटोको मुद्राको हुन्थ्यो र तथ्यको लागि पुष्टि मिल्दथ्यो । यसैले यस विषयमा हाम्रा अल्पछि हुने अनुसन्धान कार्यमा वढी महत्त्व दिएर माटोको मुद्रा र धातु मुद्राको मूल्यको सम्बन्ध जोड्न पाइला चाल्नु पर्ने देखिन्छ ।

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३३. H.N. Jha, op. cit., No. 28, p. 200.

३४. सत्यमोहन जोशी, पूर्ववत् नं. २, पृष्ठ ६५ ।

३५. रेजन् पृष्ठ १५८ ।

३६. सत्यमोहन जोशीको पनि यही राय देखिन्छ । राष्ट्रिय मुद्रा पृष्ठ ६५ ।

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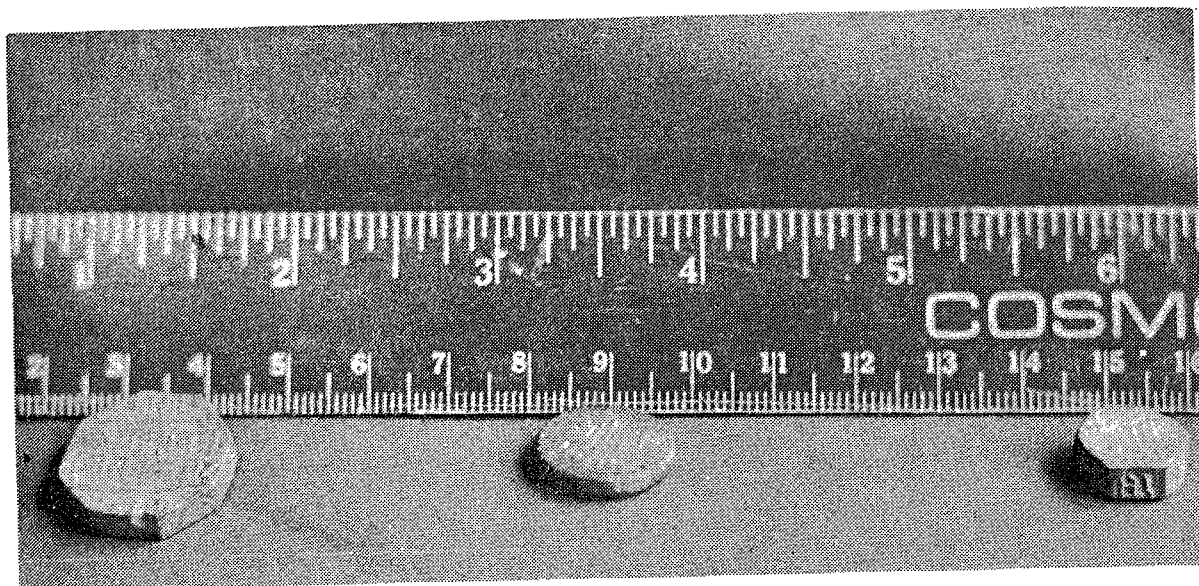
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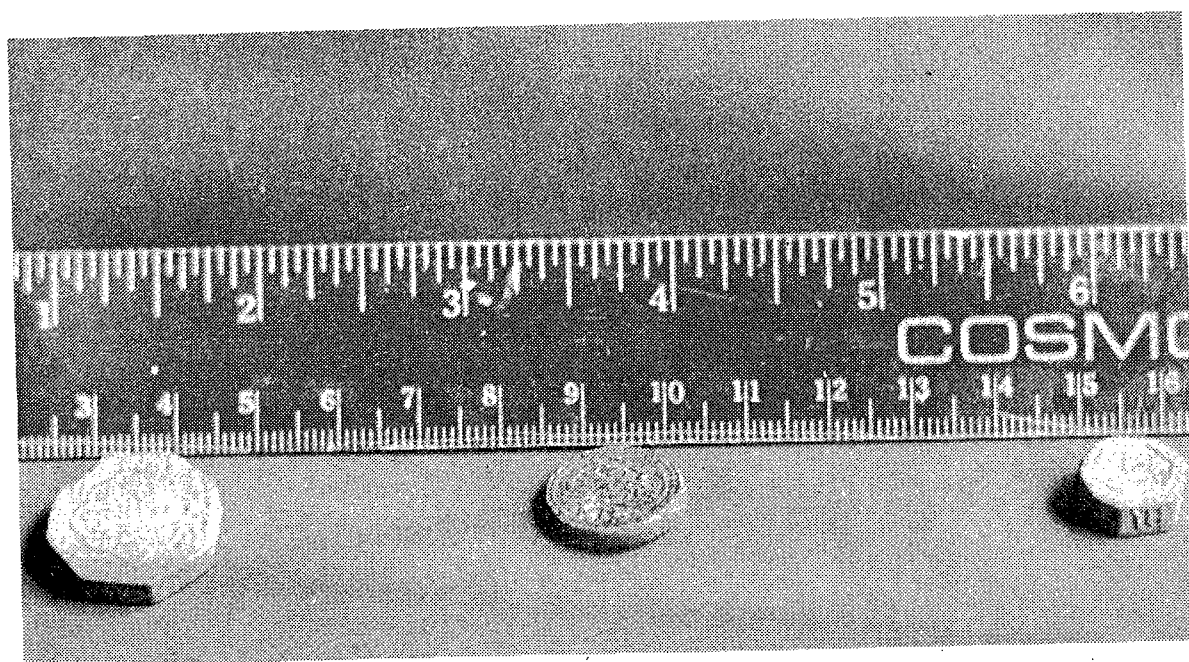
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सत्यानी राजा रणभीम शाहको पदच्युति

त्रिरत्न मानन्धर

इतिहास शिदाण सभिति

मध्यकालमा सत्यान बाईसी राज्यहल्मध्ये एक थियो । पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले नेपाल उपत्यका विजय गर्नु भन्दा अगाडि नै सत्यान र गौर्खा बीच राम्रो सम्बन्ध रहेको देखिन्छ । वि.सं. १८२३ मा नै पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले आफ्नी छोरी विलासकुमारीको विवाह सत्यानका राजा श्रीकृष्ण शाहका छोरा रणभीम शाहसँग गरिदिएका थिए^१ र त्यसको दुई वर्ष पछि श्रीकृष्ण शाहले पृथ्वीनारायण शाहका दूत भगवन्तनाथलाई एकले अर्काको कुमलो नचिताउने कुरा उल्लेख गरी सट्टा धर्मपत्र गरिदिएका थिए^२ । पछि बहादुर शाहको नायवी कालमा गएर सत्यानले नेपाल प्रति आश्रित सट्टा 'सर्वाङ्ग माफ्नी' राज्यको रूप लियो^३ र त्यहाँको राजालाई केही प्रशासनिक र न्यायिक अधिकार प्रदान गरिएको थियो । त्यति बेला सत्यानका राजा श्रीकृष्ण शाह नै थिए ।

वि.सं. १८५० मा श्रीकृष्ण शाहले आफ्ना छोरा रणभीम शाह (विलासकुमारीका लौने) लाई सत्यानका राजादीमा राखी आफू काशीवास गरे^४ । आफ्ना निकटतम सम्बन्धी भएको नाताले नेपालका राजाको सत्यानको राजपरिवारसँग राम्रो सम्बन्ध थियो । रणवहादुर शाह र गीर्वाणयुद्धविग्रम शाहले लैसा पत्रहस्ता रणभीम शाहका लागि अनेक मानार्थ शब्दहरू प्रयोग गरिएको हुन्थ्यो । सुर्का पत्रहस्ता उनलाई 'श्री मन्महाराज श्री श्री श्री रणभीम शाह' मनी सम्बोधन गरेकी पाइन्छ भने केही वर्ष पछिका चिठीहस्ता उनको नाम अगाडि 'श्री मन्महाराजाधिराज' मनी लेखिएको पाइन्छ । फेरि केही पत्रहस्ता चाहिँ 'श्री श्री श्री महाराज रणभीम शाह' र पछिका पत्रहस्ता 'श्री मन्महाराजाधिराज श्री श्री श्री मद्रणभीम शाह' मनी उनलाई सम्बोधन गरिएको पाइन्छ^५ ।

सुम्मा सत्यान राज्यको साँघे पूर्व फलावाडो पश्चिम भैरवी उचर चिपत्या फिडोसानीको लेक पानी ठलो र दक्षिण मोगलाना (भारत) थियो । तर पछि पूर्व माडी पश्चिम सत्यान दक्षिण बलरामपुर र उचर सत्यान यति चारकिला भित्रको जग्गा पनि सत्यानमा थपियो^६ । यी व्यवस्था विलासकुमारीको अनुरोधमा गरिएको थियो ।

वि.सं. १८६६ को सुम्मा नेपाल र सत्यानको सम्बन्ध एकाएक नराम्रोसँग विग्रियो र राजा रणभीम शाह पदच्युत गरिए । यस घटनाबारे धेरैजसो इतिहासकारहरू मौन छन् र उनीहरूले आ-आफ्ना पुस्तकहरूमा यसबारे केही उल्लेख गरेका छैनन् । केवल फ्रान्सिस ह्यामिल्टन र बाबुराम आचार्यले यसबारे केही उल्लेख गरेका छन् । ह्यामिल्टनको मनाइ अनुसार

८६ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मील ११, नं. २ (अप्रिल १९८४)

रणवहादुर शाहको हत्या पछि भीमसेन थापाले विलासकुमारी प्रति आदरको भाव देखाएन्न् । पाल्पाको साथसाथै उनले सत्यान पनि कब्जा गरे र विलासकुमारी र उनका कान्छा छोरा-लाई काठमाडौं ल्याई ज्यादै थोरै वृत्ति दिई राखे । विलासकुमारीका जेठा छोरा चाहिँ नवाव वजीरकहाँ शरण लिन पुगे^{११} ।

यही घटनालाई वावुराम आचार्यले यस प्रकार वर्णन गरेका छन्:-

‘स्वामीज्यूको (रणवहादुर शाहको) हत्या भएको समाचार सुन्नासाथ श्री ५ पृथ्वी-नारायण शाहकी छोरी सत्यानी रानी विलासकुमारी दौडदै काठमाडौं आइपुगिन् । यस हत्याकाण्डमा भीमसेन थापाको हात छ भन्ने गामगुम चलेको कुरा यिनको मुखवाट फुटिक्यो र भीमसेन थापाले सिपाही लारर यिनलाई काठमाडौंवाट धपाई सालको १४ सय रूपैया भत्ता दिई यिनलाई सत्यानको फालावाडो भन्ने ठाउँमा राखे र सत्यान राज्य नेपाल अधिराज्यमा मिलाई दिए यतिमात्र होइन कि श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले यिनलाई दाइजी गरी दिएको तासको वित्त पनि जफत गरियो^{१२} ।

हाल परराष्ट्र मंत्रालय काठमाडौंमा केही पत्रहरू प्राप्त भएका छन्, जसले घटनालाई केही विस्तृत रूपमा उल्लेख गरेका छन् र ह्यामिल्टन र आचार्यका भनाईलाई केही हदसम्म सण्डन पनि गरेका छन् । प्रस्तुत लेखमा यिनै अप्रकाशित पत्रहरूका आधारमा सत्यानी राजा रणभीम शाहको पदच्युति वारे विवेचना गरिएको छ ।

सत्यानी राजाको पदच्युति अकस्मात् रूपमा भएको देखिन्छ । वि.सं. १८६५ को अन्त-सम्म यसवारे कुनै पनि तात्कालिक श्रोतले सकेत गरेको छैन । वि.सं. १८६६ को शुल्मा नै स्थितिले नयाँ मोड लिो । सुवेदार अंगद कार्कीले सत्यानका सदरि गोपाल साही पदनाहाको भवान साही (सिंह) सँग मिलेको कुराको सूचना नेपाल सरकारलाई गरे । यी सूचना पाउने वित्तिकै नेपाल सरकारले अंगद कार्कीलाई नै यसवारे फेरि एकपल्ट राम्रोसँग बुझ्न अ-हायो । पत्रकै शब्दहरूमा ‘ति सदरि समेत तीस चालीस सिपाहि भवान साहसित सामिल भयाको सान्ने हो भन्या त्यो काम निको होइन अफ न्मिय बुझी जस्ताको तस्तो निस्तुक लेख सामेल भयाको कुरा साँचो ठहरेन फुठा ठह-यो भन्या तेस्ता फुठा कुरा लेखन्या मानिसका ज्यू जाहानमा पर्छ सो बुझी निश्चय ठहराइ लेख^{१३} । यही व्यहोराको पत्र पाल्पाका हाकिम काजी अमरसिं थापालाई पनि त्यही दिन पठाइयो । त्यस पत्रमा पाल्पाको हाकिमलाई एउटा जिम्मेवारी पनि दिइएको थियो । पत्रकै शब्दहरूमा ‘... भवान साहसित सामेल हुन गयाको निश्चय रहेछ भन्या सल्लाह ठहराई ताहावाट कम्पनी समेत पठाउनु पन्याकि तस-अर्थ बुझन्या कुरा ताहावाट पनि फयेल नारी बुझ्नु मुणपेटले तेस्ते रहेछ भन्या त्यो निधो आया पछि नमकन पाउन्या चाँजो गर्नु पर्ला णवदरि गरी राख^{१४} । यसको साथै सत्यान-को स्थिति बुझ्न नेपाल सरकारले तुरन्तै सुवेदार शिवा राना र अमरसिं रानालाई त्यस तर्फ खाना गरे । तर यी दुवै सुवेदारहरू सत्यान नपुग्दै सत्यानी राजाले नेपाल सरकारलाई लेखेको

फत्रमा सदरि गोपाल साही कागडा वाट फर्की प्रदनाका गढी (भवान साहीको गढी) मा पसेको कुरा स्वीकार गरिएको थियो^{११}। यो फत्र पाउने वित्तिकै नेपाल सरकारले सत्यानी राजालाई हटाउने कुराको तुरन्तै निर्णय गरिहाल्यो । वि.सं. १८६६ वैशाख शुदि ७ रोज ७ मा पाल्पा स्थित सदरि जग्देउ मंडारी र पाल्पाका हाकिम अमरसिं थापाका नाममा दुइ वटा आदेश फत्रहरू तुरन्तै पठाइए । यी दुवै फत्रहरूमा सत्यानी राजालाई सारेज गर्नु पर्ने कारण विस्तृत रूपमा लेखिएको थियो । यस अनुसार अधि रणवहादुर शाहका पालामा पनि सत्यानी राजाले ठूलो काममा धोका दिएका थिए र पछि दुइ तीन पल्टबोलाउदा पनि काठमाडौं आएनन् । यो भन्दा बढी सवै भन्दा ठूलो आरोप उनी माथि भवान साही (सिंह) संग मिलेको भनी लगाइएको थियो । फत्रले सकेत गरे अनुसार उक्त भवान साही नेपाल सरकारको प्रमुख विरोधी मध्ये एक थियो र नेपाल सरकारले उनलाई सारेज गर्न आदेश दिएको थियो । तर भवान साहीलाई पकड्न भने सकिएको थिएन । उनलाई पकड्न नेपाल सरकारले सत्यानी राजालाई अनुरोध गरी मानिस समेत पठाएकोमा सत्यानी राजाले आदेश नमान्ने आल्टाल गर्दै रहे । त्यसपछि सत्यानका सदरि गोपाल साही भवान साहीसंग मिलेको ठहराई यसको दोष पनि सत्यानी राजालाई दिइयो र उनलाई आफ्नो पदवाट सारेज गर्ने निर्णय गरियो । फत्रकै शब्दहरूमा . . . (हामीवाट) वक्त्याको णान्या र अद्याको काम गन्या तिनको उचीत हो सो त काहां गयो हामीले णारिज गर्न पठायाको पदनाहाको भवान सिंग्या पाजि सित उस्का गदिमा सामील हुन सदरि जस्तोले जानु हाम्रा निमकको सोफो काम होइन तेस्ता पाजी सित सामील भै गदिमा पस्न आटन्त्याले कोहि ठुला आदमी सित उस्तो काम पर्न गया धर्म राणन्या र निमक सम्ज्या रहेन्छन् दगा दिन्यै रह्याकन् तेस्तालाई राणी हाम्रो सव्य कैन . . . २१२।

माथि उल्लेखित कारण देखाई सत्यानी राजालाई उनको पदवाट हटाई सत्यान राज्यको वन्दोवस्त गर्न सुवा रूद्रवीर शाहीलाई पठाउने कुराको सूचना पनि दिइयो । तर रूद्रवीर शाहा नपुगुन्जेल सत्यानको वन्दोवस्त मिलाउन सदरि जग्देउ मंडारीलाई अद्याइयो । उनलाई दलसुर कंप्नी सहित चार कंप्नी लिई तुरन्तै सत्यान गई सत्यानी राजा सहित उनका भाइ छोरा भैवाद मारादारहरूलाई फत्रकी दरवार (सम्भवत काठमाडौं) पठाइ दिने र उनीहरूको हात हतियारसमेत सबू माल जिम्मा लिई राख्ने कुराको आदेश दिइयो^{१३}। अमरसिं थापा लाई पठाइएको फत्रमा पनि यस्तै वैहीरा परेको छ । फत्रकै शब्दहरूमा . . . तेस जग्गा (सत्यान) को वन्दोवस्त गर्नकिन सुवा रूद्रवीर साहिलाई जाहां वाट चडि पठाउकौं यो णवर उन्हेले पाया पछि ऋतत्र भागनन् तस कारन त्यो कुरा साचै रहेछ मन्या कोहि नउमकन पाउन्त्या गरी तांहा वाट मारा कंप्नी पठाउनु पर्ला भनि अधी पनि लेख्याको हो अब र पुढो पठाउनाको वहाना फिराइ यो मोहर फुानी वित्तिकू जग्देउ मंडारी र दलसुरको कंप्नी समेत चार कंप्नी पठाई दवरिका वंदुक र दवरि वालिसबू मारादारको आलमाल हात हतियार णसो णास

बुझि लेणा चढाई आफ्ना जिम्मा लि राखनु मानीसका अर्थ राजा उनका भाइ क्षीरा मै-
वाद भारादार सवै लाई यैक पनि नउमकन्या गरी पक्की दवारि पठाउनु विश्वास उनको केहि
हैन पक्रुंदामा हात छोड्या मन्या सोहोरा लाई साफ गनर्को हुकुम वकस्यौं सो माफिक
गजना पोषत गरी लैजानु पर्ला गढी किल्लामा पनि सर्वत्र हाम्रा मानीस राखनु मंन्या
विस्तार वेस गरी अझाइ रात विरात गरी चाँडो जाउ भनि मोहर पुग्यैको घरी विदा गरी
हिडाइ देउ यस काम लाई विदा म्या भनि कसै लाई थाहा नहुने चाँजो गर्नु. . . ^{१४}

सोही मितिमा (वि.सं. १८६६ वैशाख सुदी ७ रोज ७) मधेस पाहाडका रैयत सिपाही
का नाम पनि सट्टा लाल मोहर जारी गरिएको थियो, जसमा ' . . . आज सम्म रणभीम
साह लाई णामिद मानी रह्या थ्यौं उनका हुकुम तावेमा चल्थ्यौ वढीया गथ्यौं फलाना
मिति उप्रान्त उनका हुकुम तावेमा चल्या हाम्रा छिचरो पातलो सुन्याको कहनामा नपस्या हाम्रो
सोफो माउरो गनर्मा नपस्या नचिताया जौ जाहान सर्वस्व होला रणभीम साहि राजालाई
आज उप्रान्त मान्नु . . . भनि लेखिएको थियो ^{१५}। साथै सत्यानी राजालाई 'नजरबंदी आठौं
प्रहर संगीन चढाइ वंदुक भरी १ पट्टीले बाटमा सब वातको संभार सित ल्याउनु अरु भारादार
मैवादहरू लाई वेडी हाली वोकाइ कुलाकमा ल्याउनु राजालाई हाम्रा पीपा लायेर वोकाइ
ल्याउनु' भनी आदेश दिइएको थियो ^{१६}। जहाँ सम्म राजाका अरु नातेदारहरू (भांजा भांजी
आदि) छन् उनीहरू लाई 'दवारि छोडाइ वढिया घरमा राखनु धनमाल छुदै छ णाउन तिन्हेरु
लाई ल्याउनु पनि हैन अत जान दिनु पनि हैन आहा आउन णोज्या हाम्रा विना मर्जि आउन
दिनु पनि हैन' भनी आदेश दिइएको थियो ^{१७}।

सत्यानका राजा वा उनका समर्थकहरूद्वारा नेपाल सरकार विरुद्ध हुन सक्ने सतरा प्रति
पनि नेपाल सजा थियो । ठाउँ ठाउँका हाकिम कारिंदालाई पठाइएका पत्रहरूमा डेढ महीना
सम्म काठमाडौंबाट सत्यान र सत्यानबाट काठमाडौं जाने चिठीहरू तथा मानिसहरू माथि
पुरा निगरानी राख्न आदेश दिइएको थियो । कुनै संदिग्ध मानिस फैला परे तुरन्त पकडी
पाल्पा लैजानु भन्ने पनि हुकुम दिइएको थियो ^{१८}।

यस प्रकारले सवै वन्दोवस्त मिलाई सकिएपछि वि.सं. १८६६ वैशाख शुदि १० रोज ३ का
दिन विधिवत रूपमा सत्यानी राजा रणभीम शाहलाई पदवाट हटाइएको कुराको घोषणा
गरियो । दांग सत्यान भर पहाड मधेशका छोट्टा वडा चार वर्ण क्षीस जातका नाममा जारी
गरिएको लालमोहरमा 'वाजे वाजे काम कुरामा हाम्रो कुभाउदो गर्दा रणभीम साहलाई णा-
रेज गरी तेस मुलुकको वंदोवस्त गर्न रूद्वीर साहीलाई पठाउछौं' हाल जग्देउ मंडारी सदाँरलाई
पठायाको छ विस्तार बुझौला राज्य देशी णारेज नहुंजी सम्म उनका हाल हुकुममा रहि
उनैको सोफो चिताई तावेदारी गथ्यौं सोही उक्ति थियो उनलाई राज्य देशी णारेज
गन्याका दिनु देशी हामीलाई णादिम मानि मन वचन कर्मले हाम्रा निमको सोफो चिताई
हाम्रा हाल हुकुममा रहनु उनलाई मान्नु' भनी लेखिएको थियो ^{१९}।

सोही मितिमा काजी अमरसिं थापा र जग्देउ मंडारीका नाममा पठाइएका पत्रहरूमा
सत्यान पठाइएका कम्पनीको सान्नीको व्यवस्था गर्नको साथै मसलन्द सर्वको लागि दुइ हजार
रूपैया पनि निकास गरिएको थियो ^{२०}।

माथि उल्लेखित वर्णनबाट यो सिद्ध हुन्छ कि सल्यानी राजा विरुद्ध नेपाल सरकारले ज्यादै नै कठोर नीति अपनाएको थियो । पहिलो कुरा त सल्यानकी रानी विलासकुमारी श्री ५ गीर्वाण युद्ध विजयका साथै फुफुवज्यै थिइन् र उनी त्यति बेला जीवित नै थिइन् । यस्तो अवस्थामा सल्यानी राजालाई पदच्युत गर्नु नेपाल सरकारको लागि साधारण कुरा थिएन । दोस्रो सल्यानी राजाका साथै उनका भाइ कौरा भैवाद भारादार समेतलाई पनि पकडी काठमाडौं ल्याउन आदेश दिइएको थियो । ह्यामिल्टनको मनाइलाई साँचो मान्ने हो भने रणभीम शाहका जेठा कौराले अवधका नवावको शरणमा गई आफ्नी रक्षा गरे^{२१} । यस भन्दा पनि महत्वपूर्ण कुरा यो छ कि केवल सल्यानी राजालाई मात्रै उनकी पदवाट हटाई सल्यान राज्य उनका भाइ वा कौरालाई दिइएको थिएन । त्यसको विपरित उनीहरू सबैलाई पकडी काठमाडौं ल्याई केन्द्रबाट नै सोभै शासन गर्ने गरी सल्यानको हाकिमीको रूपमा सुवा ब्दवीर शाहीलाई नियुक्त गरी सल्यान राज्यको अस्तित्वलाई नै समाप्त पारेको थियो । वावुराम आचार्यको मनाइ अनुसार त विलासकुमारीलाई पहिले दाइजोको रूपमा दिइएको विर्ता पनि जफत गरिएको थियो^{२२} । यो कुरालाई तात्कालिक पत्रले पनि प्रमाणित गरेको छ । तीन वर्ष पछि (वि.सं. १८६६) विलासकुमारीका नाममा भएको सन्धिपत्र लालमोहरमा उनको संपत्ति माथि नेपाल सरकारले लगाएको रोक हटाएको कुरा उल्लेख भएको छ^{२३} ।

अब प्रश्न उठ्दछ कि आखिर नेपाल सरकारले सल्यानी राजा प्रति यत्रो कडा नीति किन अपनायो ? के साँच्चै रणभीम शाह र उनका परिवार नेपाल विरोधी कार्यमा सक्रिय रूपमा संलग्न थिए वा तात्कालिक नेपालको शक्तिशाली शासक भीमसेन थापाले आफ्नी स्वार्थ पूर्तिको लागि सल्यान राज्यको अस्तित्व समाप्त पारे ?

यहाँ निर विचारणीय कुरा यो छ कि रणभीम शाह माथि सडटे आरोप लगाइएको थियो । त्यो थियो नेपाल विरोधी तत्व भवान साही (सिंह) संग उनकी मित्रता । यी भवान साही को थिए, यिनी कस्तो प्रकारको नेपाल विरोधी कार्यमा संलग्न थिए र उनलाई नेपाल सरकारले किन 'सारेज' गर्न सोजेका थिए ? यी प्रश्नहरूको समाधान तात्कालिक दस्तावेजहरूले गरेको पाइँदैन । त्यसमाथि भवान साहीसंग मिलेको आरोप प्रत्यक्षा रूपमा गोपाल शाही माथि लगाइएको थियो; रणभीम शाह माथि थिएन । यस्तो साधारण कुराको आडमा सल्यानी राजालाई पदच्युत गरी राज्यको अस्तित्व नै समाप्त पार्नु सडटा ज्यादै कठोर कार्य थियो ।

वास्तविक कुरा के देखिन आउँछ भने रणवहादुर शाहको हत्यामा भीमसेन थापाको प्रत्यक्षा रूपमा हात नभए तापनि यस हत्याकाण्डमा उनी अप्रत्यक्षा रूपबाट संलग्न थिए भन्ने कुरा तात्कालिक घोटहरूले सकेत गरेका छन्^{२४} । यस स्थितिमा आफ्नी भाँजा (रणवहादुर शाह) को हत्या प्रति विलासकुमारी विन्तित हुनु स्वाभाविकै थियो र संभवतः उनले यस हत्याकाण्डको लागि भीमसेन थापाको आलोचना गरे । अब भीमसेन थापाले सल्यान तर्फबाट

सतरा महसूस गर्न थाले र उनी त्यसलाई समाप्त पार्ने दाउमा लागे भवान साही सम्बन्धी घटनालाई निहुं बनाई उनले सत्यानी राजालाई पदच्युत गरी त्यस राज्यको अस्तित्व नै समाप्त पारे ।

यस प्रकार सत्यानी राजाको पदच्युति वारे फ्रान्सिस ह्यामिल्टन र वावुराम आचार्य-का भनाइ साधारण तथा सत्यको नजीक पुगेको छ । तर माथि उल्लेखित वर्णनले यी दुइ लेखकहरूको भनाइलाई केही हदसम्म सण्डन पनि गरेको छ । पहिलो कुरा त रणवहादुर शाह-को हत्याको तुरन्त पछि नेपालले सत्यान कब्जा गरेको कुरामा दुवै लेखकहरू एकमत छन् । तर मौलिक प्रोतले प्रमाणित गरे अनुसार यो घटना रणवहादुर शाहको हत्याको पूरा तीन वर्ष पछि मात्रै घटेको थियो । दोस्रो विलासकुमारी प्रति नेपाल सरकारको व्यवहारवारे यी दुइ लेखकहरूले भिन्ना भिन्नै मत व्यक्त गरेका छन् । ह्यामिल्टनका भनाइ अनुसार विलासकुमारी र उनका साना छोराहरूलाई काठमाडौं ल्याई थोरै वृत्ति दिई राखियो तर आचार्यले भने सत्यानी रानीलाई साल्को चौध सय रूपैया भन्दा दिई फलावाडो धपाएको कुरा उल्लेख गरेका छन् । तात्कालिक कागजपत्रहरूले यस वारे स्पष्ट रूपमा विवरण दिएको त हैन ता पनि उनी माथिको दुर्व्यवहार प्रायः निश्चित छ । तर यस कार्यको लागि भीमसेन थापाको आलोचना भयो र फलस्वरूप तीन वर्ष पछि (वि.सं. १८६६) नै विलासकुमारीको सम्पत्ति फिर्ता गर्न भीमसेन थापा बाध्य भए ।

सत्यानी राजाको पदच्युति पछि केही महीना सम्म त्यहाँको शासन व्यवस्था सदाँर जगदेउ मंडारीले सम्हाले र त्यस पछि सुवा रूद्रवीर शाही गई त्यहाँको प्रशासन आफ्नो हात मा लिए । रूद्रवीर शाहीले धेरै वर्षसम्म पाल्पाको हाकिमको अधीनमा रही सत्यानको प्रशा-सन चलाए र यिनले जारी गरेको केही प्रशासनिक आदेश तथा पत्रहरू पनि पाइएका छन्^{२५} । अठार वर्ष पछि अर्थात् वि.सं. १८८४ मा मात्रै तेजवहादुर शाह देखा परेका छन् त्यो पनि राजाको रूपमा होइन^{२६} । यसको पनि दस वर्ष पछि अर्थात् वि.सं. १८९४ मा मात्र (भीम-सेन थापाको पतन पछि) विधिवत् रूपमा उनले राजाको उपाधि पाएको देखिन्छ । सत्यानी राजाको दर्जा दिइए तापनि तेजवहादुरको राज्य फलावाडोमा नै सीमित रह्यो । सत्यान, दांग र देउसुरीमा उनको केही अधिकार रहेन^{२७} ।

एकजना लेखकले राजा तेजवहादुर शाहलाई रणभीम शाह र विलासकुमारीका छोरा हुन् भनी लेखेका छन्^{२८} । तर कुनै पनि सामग्रीले यो कुराको पुष्टि गरेको हैन । यसको विप-रीत वंशावलीले रणभीम शाहका पाँच वटा छोराहरूको नाम उल्लेख गरेको छ । ती हुन - रघुनाथ, रघुवर, घनश्याम, भारत, र गदाधर^{२९} । यी मध्ये शुरूका दुइ जना (रघुनाथ र रघु-वर) राजकुमारका रूपमा तात्कालिक कागजपत्रहरूमा समेत उल्लेख भएको पाइन्छ^{३०} । यसकारण तेजवहादुर शाह रणभीम शाहका छोरा त पके होइनन् । संभवत उनी रणभीम शाहका भतिजा वा नजीकका नातेदार हुन् । नत्र उनलाई फेरि सत्यानको राजा बनाउने कुरा भिल्ने थिएन ।

पाद-टिप्पणी

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२९. नरहरिनाथ, टिप्पणी नं. १, पृष्ठ ६०६-६११ ।
३०. रे. पृष्ठ ४०२, ४०५ ।



Book Review

Integrated Development Systems, Foreign Aid and Development in Nepal: Proceedings of a Seminar (October 4-5, 1983). 340 pages. Integrated Development Systems. Kathmandu. Rs. 200 (US \$ 15.00).

Last decade has seen a proliferation of seminars in Nepal relating to developmental issues. But none of them was specifically organised to address, in sufficient details and depth, the role of foreign aid in Nepalese development in spite of the fact that foreign aid has had pervasive effect on all aspects of the Nepalese society and the economy. The seminar organised by Integrated Development Systems (IDS), a private non-profit institute for research in management and development, last October on "Foreign Aid and Development in Nepal" and participated by top government policy makers and planners including those responsible in the past and present for negotiation and management of foreign aid, prominent intellectuals, and representatives of donor communities has filled up this important gap. IDS has been prompt in publishing the proceedings of the seminar. It is one of the publications that provide clear insights into the ramification of foreign aid and the basic issues relating to Nepalese Development (or underdevelopment).

The publication contains six papers on the impacts of Foreign Aid on the Nepalese Social Structure, the Poor, Women, Agricultural Development, Administrative Capability, and Development in general including the comments and discussions thereof during the seminar; the main contributors are Chaitanya Misra and Pitambar Sharma, Mahesh Banskota, Bina Pradhan and Indira Shrestha, Thakur Nath Pant, Bihari K. Shrestha, and Devendra Raj Pandey, respectively. It also includes an illuminating "letter from a 'silent' participant" which points out the crux of the problem of development in Nepal in a language unusually clear and straightforward.

The papers range in quality, content of analysis and sufficient relevant information in support of the respective contentions but are unanimous in concluding that foreign aid in Nepal has not contributed to the real "development", defined in terms of benefits to the poor and disadvantaged groups, positive changes in the productivity and structure of the economy, transformation of the institutional structure, and improvement in the managerial and administrative efficiency of the bureaucracy. All writers, however, concede that foreign aid has positively contributed to the creation of economic infrastructure and in training capable manpower although the beneficiaries have been mainly the members of the elite group.

The first paper by Misra and Sharma analyses the issue from the perspective of social class structure and argues that in a country like Nepal, which is neither egalitarian nor politically and economically diversified, foreign aid essentially helps to maintain and strengthen the "traditional native power structure" under which the "upper social

classes" derive the major benefits while the political dependence of the "under class" increases, thus sharpening the basic contradiction in the social structure. To substantiate this argument the role of foreign aid in the production and distribution system, the power structure, and the ideological framework are examined in general terms. The paper is very well written and has succeeded in highlighting the basic problem of development facing not only the contemporary Nepali society but all developing countries in general.

The specifics, relevant facts and examples generally lacking in Misra and Sharma's paper are, to a certain extent, provided in the outstanding paper by Banskota which addresses the specific issue of the beneficiaries of foreign aid. Banskota shows a very strong physical infrastructure bias of foreign aided projects and argues that: "Most of the infrastructure benefits are based on the abilities to pay while access to the other services are directly related to one's overall socio-economic status. The bulk of the poor is therefore at a great disadvantage to either participate or benefit from most of the development projects..." The argument is convincingly justified from the review of the sectoral programmes of several recently implemented integrated rural development projects (IRDPs) under foreign aid -- specifically with reference to education, health, drinking water, cottage industry, employment, and extension and training system, all of which are expected to benefit mostly the poor. The author suggests, with an ingenuous model of the rise and fall of major foreign aided projects, that "group interest and group interactions" among opposing elites have dominated success and failure of development projects, "including where and how the benefits are shared."

The central argument of the next paper by Pradhan and Shrestha is that women, an underprivileged and disadvantaged group in Nepal whose economic contribution is immense, have been neglected in the national development programmes and projects undertaken through foreign aid. Targeting the poor alone will not automatically benefit the women. They illustrate their contention through a general, but often repetitive, review of the IRDPs and several women specific projects. In projects that have specific provision for women's involvement the emphasis is primarily on enhancing the traditional "housewifely" role and most of them are either ineffective or too restrictive in scale to have any significant impact.

Pant makes a general assessment of foreign aid to agriculture through a review of several facts and figures, although not all of them are very relevant to make his point, and concludes that "the achievement of the foreign aided agricultural projects has not been particularly satisfactory." He attributes it mainly to the ineffectiveness of "external assistance in transferring appropriate technology so vitally required for agricultural development." Two case studies are presented -- one of Chitwan Irrigation Project, a failure due to complex technology involved and Integrated Cereal Project, a success (which is yet premature to be assessed so) because of flexible technological element that could be adapted to suit local realities. The failure of foreign aid in increas-

ing agricultural productivity, as per Pant, is attributable both to the HMG and the donors -- HMG, because of the "absence of clear and consistent national policies on the role of external assistance" and donors, for their emphasis on physical facilities without considering the "institutional base" that use such facilities.

Bihari Shrestha is extremely, and perhaps unduly, critical of foreign consultants in his paper entitled "Technical Assistance and the Growth of Administrative Capability in Nepal." Although it is difficult to agree with him on all his criticisms as general characteristics of expatriate consultants, they cannot also be dismissed as irrelevant outright. Perhaps because of his "subjective" and "emotional" approach to the issue, as some participants in the seminar alleged, the paper lacks a clear-cut focus. Nonetheless, the main theme that could be discerned from careful reading of the paper is that Nepalese administration is non-functional and inefficient principally because of the "existing rules of civil service" under which promotion criteria have no bearing on quality of performance and consequently officials lack motivation for hard work. (It is difficult to understand how the author can believe "the civil service rules" to be as the root cause of administrative inefficiency which is rather one of the manifestations of the overall socio-political and economic situation of the country). So the donor's palliative is "to take control of the project and do things that Nepalese should have been doing" and as a result the stated purpose of expatriate inputs to strengthen national project or programme management capability is rarely achieved. Nonetheless, the author concedes the "unavoidable need for greater and continuous infusion of technical and managerial knowhow into development efforts of Nepal."

The concluding paper by Pandey is excellent in its analysis and exposition of the role of foreign aid in the Nepalese development. While basically agreeing with main conclusions of the foregoing papers, he contends that the crucial problem is the "void in Nepal's development strategy". Nepal's objectives of development, strategies, policies and projects are determined by foreign aid, as per the prevailing international 'fashion' at the point in time, because the government is overtly dependent on aid. "Development strategy has tended to follow aid rather than vice versa." Only for a period in the early sixties, the author contends, Nepal had its own strategy but more recently there is no sense of direction. Therefore, "it is in its role as the purveyor of changing concepts that foreign aid has been most counter-productive in Nepal." The wholesale acceptance by HMG of the "basic needs" strategy discovered for the third world by donor countries and international agencies is unsuitable in a situation of generalized poverty because to cater the basic needs of people Nepal will have to be permanently dependent on external subsidy. Thus, the author calls for reverting to the strategy of the early sixties, i.e. emphasis on production through and along with suitable institutional reforms. The donors are called upon to play a major role towards this through a "hard-nosed dialogue with the government." Otherwise foreign aid would only help support the status quo and donors cannot deny the charge of "collusion" or floundering along with the government: it would be best for Nepali people for such aid to be stopped al-

together. "The advantage would be that the contradictions can be settled internally, howsoever painful a process that might be for some of us."

If one ignores the details of analysis there could be no dissension on the basic conclusion of the papers. But after reading the generally excellent diagnosis contained in the papers, the prescriptions put forward by the writers are not even "old wine in the new bottle" and therefore likely to be unattainable. Banskota recommends promotion of equality, self-help, and cooperation; among the "bottom-line policies" recommended by Shrestha are participatory planning and implementation, inter-regional and interpersonal equity, and developing a more responsive bureaucracy; and Pandey suggests the need for a design of strategy tantamount to "growth with redistribution" or else, in the extreme, stopping aid altogether on the part of the donor which is not a tenable option at all. They are putting the "cart before the horse" knowing well that it would not work but as Banskota writes, about foreign aid dancing to the tunes of the elites in recipient countries, "probably rightly so because even they would not really know what else to do!"

Misra and Sharma provide no recommendations, perhaps because given the basic socio-political institution and the class interests there could be no solution to the contradiction, save for the extreme alternative of a painful resolution through major transformation of the whole socio-political structure. It would be premature to expect the leadership and organization in the present context of Nepal to bring about such a revolutionary change that can have a sustained base. Therefore, I tend to agree with the "silent" participant's view only to the extent that the problem is political but differ with his opinion that "a demand for change in our situation can only be done with a straight demand for political change." I am afraid, for a long time to come, there is really no option but to live with the evolutionary change in our socio-economic system.

It is, thus, very unlikely that insights brought about by the deliberation in the seminar and this publication of the proceedings will affect any substantial change in practice, either on the part of Nepalese policy makers or the donor community. Nonetheless, the awareness of the real problem generated is of immense value in itself and an important contribution to the limited literature pertaining to the role of foreign aid in Nepalese development. This publication must be in the priority reading list of development practitioners and intellectuals both within Nepal and outside. IDS would have contributed better if this publication were brought forth in a cheaper edition so that it could be accessible to the Nepalese audience, particularly the student community.

- Durga P. Ojha

Notes to Contributors

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Bista, D.B., 1965. *People of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.

Dhungel, Basundhara, 1980. "The Newars." In Sudha Paneru (ed.), *Traditional and Prevailing Child-Rearing Practices Among Different Communities in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, pp. 31-53.

Shrestha, Ananda, 1979. "Error Analysis." *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 6:2, pp. 1-9.

Stone, S. Linda, 1977. "Illness, Hierarchy and Food Symbolism in Hindu Nepal." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Brown University.

His Majesty's Government of Nepal, 1974. *Population Project for Nepal: 1971-86*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics.

Shrestha, Ramesh, 1977. "Adult Literacy in Nepal: A Report." Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University. Mimeographed.

Tables should be submitted on separate pages, numbered and with headings. Maps and text figures should be drawn in black waterproof ink about twice the intended final size, with lettering in soft pencil. Notations in the text should indicate where these are to appear. Plates should be not be less than intended final size. They should be printed on glossy paper. They should be titled and numbered.